REPORT RESUMES

ED 017 908 48 AL 000 990
CHAPTERS IN INDIAN CIVILIZATION--A HANDBOOK OF READINGS TO ACCOMPANY THE CIVILIZATION OF INDIA SYLLABUS. VOLUME II, BRITISH AND MODERN INDIA.
BY- ELDER, JOSEPH W., ED.
WISCONSIN UNIV., MADISON, DEPT. OF INDIAN STUDIES
REPORT NUMBER BR-6-2512 PUB DATE JUN 67
CONTRACT OEC-3-6-062512-1744
EDRS PRICE MF-$1.25 HC-$12.04 299P.

DESCRIPTORS- *INDIANS, *CULTURE, *AREA STUDIES, MASS MEDIA, *LANGUAGE AND AREA CENTERS, LITERATURE, LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION, INDO EUROPEAN LANGUAGES, DRAMA, MUSIC, SOCIOCULTURAL PATTERNS, INDIA,

THIS VOLUME IS THE COMPANION TO "VOLUME I, CLASSICAL AND MEDIEVAL INDIA," AND IS DESIGNED TO ACCOMPANY COURSES DEALING WITH INDIA, PARTICULARLY THOSE COURSES USING THE "CIVILIZATION OF INDIA SYLLABUS" (BY THE SAME AUTHOR AND PUBLISHERS, 1965). VOLUME II CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING SELECTIONS--(1) "INDIA AND WESTERN INTELLECTUALS," BY JOSEPH W. ELDER, (2) "DEVELOPMENT AND REACH OF MASS MEDIA," BY K.E. EAPEN, (3) "DANCE, DANCE-DRAMA, AND MUSIC," BY CLIFF R. JONES AND ROBERT E. BROWN, (4) "MODERN INDIAN LITERATURE," BY M.G. KRISHNAMURTHI, (5) "LANGUAGE IDENTITY--AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIA'S LANGUAGE PROBLEMS," BY WILLIAM C. MCCORMACK, (6) "THE STUDY OF CIVILIZATIONS," BY JOSEPH W. ELDER, AND (7) "THE PEOPLES OF INDIA," BY ROBERT J. AND BEATRICE D. MILLER. THESE MATERIALS ARE WRITTEN IN ENGLISH AND ARE PUBLISHED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706. (AMM)

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BR-6-2512
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CHAPTERS IN INDIAN CIVILIZATION

JOSEPH W. ELDER
Editor

VOLUME II
BRITISH AND MODERN PERIOD

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Department of Indian Studies
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

June, 1967

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CHAPTERS IN INDIAN CIVILIZATION:

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Joseph W. Elder, Editor

VOLUME II - BRITISH AND MODERN INDIA

Department of Indian Studies
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The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, under the provisions of Title VI, Public Law 85-864, as amended, Section 602.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In September, 1965, the Department of Indian Studies of the University of Wisconsin, under contract with the U. S. Office of Education, published a *Civilization of India Syllabus* that I edited, assisted by Willard L. Johnson and Christopher R. King. While preparing the Syllabus, we asked ourselves whether or not we should consider preparing an accompanying textbook. It was our consensus, as well as the consensus of those who had helped plan the *Syllabus*, that such a textbook would repeat much of what was already available in such books as A. L. Basham's *The Wonder That Was India*, S. M. Ikram's *Muslim Civilization in India*, and Wm. Theodore DeBary's edited *Sources of Indian Tradition*. So for the time being we abandoned the thought of an accompanying textbook.

Once the *Syllabus* preparation was underway, however, we discovered the need for a different sort of book. The author of each lecture outline included a 'required' reading assignment of approximately fifty pages. Usually this posed no problem. But occasionally an author reported that there simply were no fifty-page readings on the topic or of the quality we required. Our makeshift solution was to list multiple references or to recommend the best article we could, even if we knew it was unavailable to most *Syllabus* users. Neither solution was satisfactory.

At this point an idea occurred to us: could we not prepare a volume of chapters specifically designed to fill existing gaps in materials on India? The Office of Education proved responsive to the idea and signed a contract for the necessary funds. In June, 1966 my colleague Alex Wayman, who had taught the classical portion of our "Civilization of India" course, Willard Johnson, Christopher King and I met to map out what we felt should be included in the volume. We were aided by the participants in a four-week faculty Workshop on South Asia held in Madison during June and July. At the end of the Workshop, the faculty participants described the materials they would like to see in such a collection. The inclusion of chapter eleven, "The Study of Civilizations," can be attributed directly to them. By the end of the summer, we had generally decided what the chapters would cover, whom we would invite as authors, and in a number of cases we even prepared rough outlines of what we thought the chapters might include.

The task of approaching the authors was made most pleasant by their willingness to cooperate and their enthusiasm for the project. Despite their heavy teaching and administrative burdens, they managed to crowd their days and shorten their nights to meet the deadlines that had to be established if the contract were to be met. To each author I am deeply grateful both for the quality of his writing and for his tolerance of my editorial persistence.

I have been most fortunate to have as a Special Consultant for the "Classical and Medieval India" volume Dr. A. K. Narain, Principal of the College of Indology in Banaras Hindu University and visiting professor in the University of Wisconsin during the 1966-67 academic year. He also graciously submitted to the pressures and deadlines of the contract. His comments were learned, judicious and helpful, and I am deeply indebted to him. I am also grateful to my two graduate assistants, Christopher R. King and Mark A. Ehman, and to Willard L. Johnson for all their help in planning, preparing bibliography, and indexing the *Chapters*. Without them, both the format and content of these *Chapters* would be much less complete. I am also indebted to Mrs. Norah Adair, assistant to the director of Wisconsin's South Asia Language and Area Center, who helped draft the contract proposal and subsequently assumed responsibility for handling the financial side of the project. With her quiet efficiency, she has seen that checks were issued and reports prepared to meet the contract specifications.

I am grateful to the Center for Advanced Studies in Wesleyan University and the Danforth Foundation in St. Louis for providing me with the free time and delightful Connecticut setting for carrying out several writing projects including the editing of these *Chapters*. Wyman Parker, Gertrude McKenna and the other members of Wesleyan's Olin Library staff deserve special mention for their assistance in tracking down elusive references. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Wesleyan students who enrolled in my Workshop on "India and Western Intellectuals." The stimulation they provided by preparing sections of chapter six and serving as a sounding board for my own ideas was so valuable that I have listed their names along with my own at the head of the chapter.

The chapter on "Dance, Dance-Drama, and Music" by Cliff R. Jones and Robert E. Brown called for illustrations and musical notations. For the former I am deeply grateful to Louise A. Smith, whose line drawings of the instruments and dancers add much to the chapter's effectiveness. For the latter I am grateful to Muriel C. Hintz, who painstakingly copied the rāgas to provide a more inclusive collection than any I have ever seen elsewhere. Frank H. Murtha, manager of Wesleyan University's Central Services, and his staff also deserve special recognition for their flexibility, technical skill, and friendly cooperation.

For the maps and proofreading I am indebted to my charming wife, Joann F. Elder, and her mother, Mabel D. Byers. Had it not been for their willingness to devote long hours to the concluding rush of work, this project would have been considerably delayed. And to my daughter, Shonti R. Elder, I am indebted for the title *Chapters in Indian Civilization*. When she turned up her nose at my working title (*Handbook of Supplementary Readings*) and I challenged her to do better, she did.

Undoubtedly the heroine of this project has been Karen L. Meyers. Starting as one who had worked with neither Indian diacritical marks nor an executive model typewriter before, she became a virtuoso in both. Her own uncommon good sense prevented countless mistakes before they were made, and the care that she and her husband, Peter V. Meyers, gave to the proofreading made reading by others almost superfluous. She has borne with good-humored patience the project's numerous vicissitudes, and I can only hope that now that the project is successfully concluded, she can enjoy some of the rest she so richly deserves.

Joseph W. Elder
Middletown, Connecticut
June 28, 1967

INTRODUCTION

A. How To Use The Chapters

These Chapters in Indian Civilization are designed as readings to accompany courses dealing with India, especially courses using the Civilization of India Syllabus. Their aim is to supplement rather than to replace such presently-available materials as A. L. Basham's The Wonder That Was India and Wm. Theodore DeBary's edited Sources of Indian Tradition. About the only feature each chapter shares with all the others is its selection by the Syllabus staff to fill a gap in existing materials dealing with India.

No effort has been made for one chapter to lead into the next. The chapters in volume I pertain to Classical and Medieval India; the chapters in volume II deal with British and Modern India. Within these volumes, the chapters are arranged according to the order in which the lectures they accompany appear in the forthcoming revision of the Civilization of India Syllabus. This arrangement is quite arbitrary, and the instructor assigning these Chapters is encouraged to exercise his own imagination in fitting them most effectively into his course.

B. Revision of the Chapters

The Chapters will be revised within the next few months. The editor would appreciate any comments or suggestions for improvements. Write:

Joseph W. Elder, Editor
Chapters in Indian Civilization
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Madison, Wisconsin 53706

C. Spelling and Pronunciation

Where it seemed necessary, diacritical marks have been included on Indian words to give their appropriate spelling and to aid pronunciation. The standard source for Sanskrit-based words has been A. L. Basham, The Wonder That Was India, New York: Grove Press, 1959. For Persian and Arabic-based words, we have used I. H. Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (610-1947), The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton, 1962. For Hindi words we have relied on Bhargava's Standard Illustrated Dictionary of the Hindi Language: (Hindi-English Edition), compiled by R.C. Pathak, Varanasi: P.N. Bhargava, rev. ed., 1960.

Key sounds for correct pronunciation are the vowels, although certain consonants are also crucial. The following table provides the most important sound equivalents:

Vowels:	a	as u in but, cut (*not* as a in cat)
	ā	as a in far, calm
	i	as i in pin, bit
	ī	as i in machine
	u	as u in pull, bull
	ū	as u in rule
Diphthongs:	e	as ai in chair
	ai	as ai in aisle
	o	as o in go
	au	as ow in cow
	ṛ	as ri in river, rich
Consonants:	c	as ch in church
	g	as g in go
	ś, ṣ	approximately as sh in rush, shape

For further help in pronunciation see A. L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. xxi and pp. 506-508 and I. H. Qureshi, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

J. W. E.

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CHAPTER VI

INDIA AND WESTERN INTELLECTUALS

Joseph W. Elder
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

INDIA AND WESTERN INTELLECTUALS

Joseph W. Elder

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INDIA AND WESTERN INTELLECTUALS

Joseph W. Elder
The University of Wisconsin
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With the assistance of: D. Darius Brubeck, James G. Campbell, Jonathan G. Crystal, C. Christopher Drake, Stanley H. Harbison, John L. Meyers, Philip J. Miller, and Walt W. Odets.

India has had to come to terms with western Europe, and she will never be the same for it. Look where you will--to her economy, her political structure, her social patterns, her intellectual life, her art, her religion--and you will find the imprint of the West. At times this imprint has been accidental--or at least unexpected. At other times it has been the product of careful planning. Thomas Babington Macaulay, for example, in his 1835 Minute on Education defined the goal of English education in India to be the formation of "... a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect."

To a considerable extent, the educational system in India *has* produced such a class of Indians--children of one civilization, reared and refined in the learning of another. Jawarhalal Nehru once said, "I have become a queer mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere." He spoke for others like him, spanning a century and pursuing careers in fields such as law, journalism, science, education, politics, and administration. By and large, these have been the men who have 'modernized' India's economy, 'politicized' her citizenry, 'advanced' her technology, and 'westernized' her social patterns, in spite of, or possibly *because* of, their "queer mixture of East and West."

But when two civilizations meet, the flow of influence is never one-way. During the same decades in which many of India's brightest young men were memorizing Aristotle's syllogisms or Shakespeare's sonnets, a number of westerners--fewer, to be sure, and on the whole less visible, but still important--were studying the wisdom of India. Through these men, and through those who read *their* writings and heard *their* lectures, and on through the expanding ripples of contact, Western intellectuals, i.e., those involved in the formal presentation of ideas, came to learn about India. Much has been written about Europe's impact on India. This paper reverses the direction of analysis. It asks: how did India affect Western intellectuals? Western audiences? Western fields of inquiry?

During the last century of British rule, Indians had little choice in whether or not they wished to be exposed to Western learning. In the West, by contrast, the choice to expose oneself to Indian materials was voluntary. No English schoolboys were forced to learn the rules of Nyāya logic or the names of the Pāṇḍava brothers, nor were they compelled to master Sanskrit or Persian. Under these circumstances, who became interested in India, and why? Where did they find their materials, and how did they analyze them? With whom did they search for and with whom did they discuss their findings? And how did their fellow Westerners respond to them? with praise? with skepticism? with disregard? with imitation? In short, what was the response of Western intellectuals to India?

THE EARLY TRAVELERS

Late in the thirteenth century, the Venetian, Marco Polo, visited a few ports in southwestern India and included descriptions of them in his travel accounts. During the fourteenth century, his descriptions were augmented by those of the Franciscian friar, John of Monte Corvino, who had visited the coast of Malabar and returned to Europe with tales of palm trees with green coconuts, sugar, cinnamon bark, and ginger, of olive-skinned people living on milk and rice and avoiding strong drink. Another early missionary, Father Odoric, reached Surat in 1325 and described the sacred cow, Parsi fire-worshipers, pepper vines, and satī (the immolation of a widow on her husband's funeral pyre). The fifteenth century saw a few more journals from India. Nicolo Conti, a Venetian merchant, visited the kingdom of Vijayanagara, in South India. His stories were recorded in Latin by the pope's secretary, and included accounts of the dazzling city of Vijayanagara, the twelve-thousand wives of the king, and worshipers committing suicide under the wheels of an idol-bearing chariot or hanging by ropes inserted through their bodies. The end of the century saw the arrival by sea of Vasco de Gama's expedition (1497), a journal from which describes the port of Calicut and the reception received by the Portugese.

By the sixteenth century, the trickle of journals and diaries had become a stream. The Italian Ludovico di Varthema, who traveled in southern India between 1503 and 1508, depicted life in the courts of the 'King of Cambray', Vijayanagara, and Calicut, and included a remarkably accurate description of the Jains, with their hospitals for ailing animals and their gentleness toward all living creatures. The founder of Portugese power in India at Goa, Alfonso de Albuquerque, left a valuable account of life in South India. Other Portugese chroniclers included Duarte Barbosa, Domingos Paes, and Fernao Nuniz, who supplied further details of the dams and waterworks, festivals, and female palace guards in Vijayanagara. The end of the century found journals dealing with northern India. The Jesuit father, Antonio Monserrate, traveled from Goa to the capital of the Muslim emperor Akbar and recorded the splendor of the court as well as the eclectic tolerance displayed by the emperor himself.

By the early seventeenth century, the Dutch, British, and French East India Companies had been founded, and a steady procession of travelers began to move between Europe and India. Between 1620 and 1627 the Dutch merchant, Francisco Pelsaert, visited such North Indian locations as Agra, Lahore, and Kashmir. His narrative includes descriptions of Muslim and Hindu religious practices (including prohibitions on cow slaughter) as well as accounts of the Mughul system of justice. The Portugese missionary Sebastian Manrique traveled over much the same area as Pelsaert at about the same time. As a missionary, he was particularly appalled by, and made special note of, the more shocking and 'immoral' aspects of the Hinduism he observed. And from 1623 to 1625 an Italian gentleman, Pierto della Valle, toured sections of India outside the Mughul empire not as a trader or missionary but as a curious inquirer haunted by the loss of his beloved wife, whose embalmed body he carried with him. His narrative includes an account of tree worship and a description of a child marriage.

Among the first Englishmen to leave an account of India was Ralph Fitch. As one of a party of four commissioned by the Lord Mayor of London in 1583 to present a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the emperor Akbar, Fitch survived a hair-raising series of incidents, met the 'Great Mogul', reached the straits of Malacca, and finally returned to England in 1591. In 1607 a sea captain, William Hawkins, was commissioned to arrange with the emperor Jahāngīr the opening of an English trading factory at Surat. Hawkins recorded his two years in Agra (1609-1611), where his knowledge of Turkish enabled him to carry on limited conversations with Jahāngīr. But this and their common attachment to the wine-cup did not prove sufficient to obtain the necessary permission and Hawkins finally left empty handed. Four years later Sir Thomas Roe and his chaplain, the Rev. Edward Terry, arrived in Agra for a further attempt to receive concessions from Jahāngīr. Both Roe's and Terry's accounts of their three years in the Mughul court provide rich detail to supplement the official accounts of the Mughul court historians. Roe's description of his first audience with the emperor Jahāngīr ("high on a gallery, with a canopy over him and a carpet before him, sat in great and barbarous state the Great Mogul") may have provided the poet John Milton with the image for his Satan,

> High on a throne of royal state which far
> Outshone the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind.[1]

Life in the finally-established English trading fort in Surat provided Englishmen with a somewhat more settled base from which to observe Indian life. The Rev. Henry Lord, chaplain at Surat, published a pamphlet in 1630 describing "Two Forraigne Sects in the East Indies", the Parsis and the Hindus. Although unsympathetic

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1. Quoted in L. S. S. O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, London: Oxford University Press, 1941, p. 542.

(Lord described Hinduism as a "maze of errour and gentilisme" to which those "out of the pale of the church" were led by Satan), it did present with modest accuracy some of the major distinctions between the two religions. Peter Mundy, a Company employee who took caravans on business expeditions in northern India between 1628 and 1634 included in his "Travels" accounts of caste and religious feuds, the Muslim destruction of Hindu temples in Banaras, general social conditions during the reign of the emperor Shāh Jahān, and the terrible famine of 1630 when the starved resorted to eating human flesh.

To the Englishmen 'back home' India remained a land of mystery, ruled by the 'Great Mogul', a tyrant of unbelievable opulence and blackest cruelty. The first English drama on an Indian subject was John Dryden's "Aurangzeb" (1675). Although the play itself has little to commend it, the interest it aroused among the theater-going public of the time and the English image of India it portrays make it a literary timepiece. During this same period, the French public were reading accounts of life in India under the 'real' emperor Aurangzīb written by two perceptive Frenchmen. Jean B. Tavernier, a French jeweler, made six different trips to India between 1641 and 1666, interviewed the emperor Aurangzīb himself, and visited and described many of India's major ports and cities. Francois Bernier, a physician, actually lived at the court of Aurangzīb for twelve years, and analyzed with skill the strengths and weaknesses of the emperor's rule.

However, men like Lord or Bernier were exceptions. Few Europeans who came to India in the seventeenth century saw themselves as scholars, 'intellectuals', or Indologists. They were priests and businessmen, or possibly adventurers or soldiers, with their training in parishes, business houses, or parade grounds, and their roots in Portugal, Italy, France, Holland, or England. In most cases they brought with them to India their diet, clothing, calendar, and religion. Throughout their stay in India, their minds were set on the day when they would be 'going home'. And those who survived till that day took back to Europe dimly-understood mental pictures of India--nocturnal religious processions, crowded bazaars, widows burned alive beside their dead husbands, princely courts with their pomp and cruelty, ornate temples, debating pundits, and unkempt holy men.

Such Europeans had little interest in the serious study of anything Indian. Dr. John Fryer, an East India Company surgeon serving in the factory at Surat in 1670 wrote:

> the Company, to encourage young men in their service, maintain a master to learn them to write and read the /local Indian/ language and an annuity to be annexed when they gain a perfection therein, which few attempt and fewer attain.[2]

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[2] Quoted in Philip Mason (alias Philip Woodruff), The Men Who Ruled India, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954, vol. I, p. 56.

The early missionaries differed from the young men Fryer described. For them a knowledge of the regional vernacular was indispensable. Living and holding discourse with scholars as well as humble folk, they had an opportunity to learn much about the local beliefs and customs. Occasionally they developed a peculiar respect for the culture of those they were trying to convert. In 1607 the Italian Jesuit missionary Roberto de Nobili, who had an excellent command of the Tamil language, wrote to the General of the Society, "... your Reverence must know that these people are not so ignorant as some men imagine."[3]

In South India nearly a century later, Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, one of the first full-time missionaries with the Danish Lutheran Church, sent voluminous materials back to his home church portraying the South Indian pantheon and stressing that Hindus had, ultimately, only one God. He suggested that they had been "misled into polytheism by the devil."

Even when capable linguistically and temperamentally to learn about India, most missionaries saw only the India of their region and historical period. They were generally told that what they saw existed throughout India and had continued virtually unchanged for thousands of years. Even the Jesuit Father Hanxleden, who compiled the first European Sanskrit grammar (c. 1732) and Father Coeurdoux, one of the first (1767) Europeans to see possible links between Sanskrit and European languages, had no real understanding of ancient India. Father Coeurdoux, for example, thought India's brāhmaṇs might be descended from one of the sons of Noah's Japhet. Other missionaries thought India was the survival of one of the Old Testament empires.

It took a different sort of European to begin the study of India's past--one with a strong commitment to mastering languages, yet at the same time sufficiently free from Biblical doctrine to examine evidence on its own merits. It took men who could memorize and also question. For unlike China, or even the Near East, India did not have a religious, social, and literary history organized by well-recorded dynasties. Her past had to be reconstructed by cross-checking manuscripts and identifying subtle changes in language usage in order to separate the mythical from the historical.

The battle of Plassey (1757) expanded the activities of the East India Company to include the collection of revenue and the administration of law and order. English traders and political officers now left the enclosed life of the ports and migrated into the 'up-country' districts, where men were closer to India and more isolated from England. Their places in the port cities were taken over by a new set of Company servants--judges, clerks, soldiers, and their wives--who generated their own English enclaves complete with theater, church, newspaper, and style of life. This was the period that produced the 'nabobs', those gentlemen seeking prestige and title rather than wealth and an unnoticed country life in England after retirement. The 'nabobs' were a new breed. They entered Parliament in force in 1768, and by 1772 they had been caricatured in Samuel Foote's play "The Nabobs". They were over-rich; they were addicted to bribery, daily ablutions, and the hookah. They converted sound English foods into curries, pilaus, and chutneys to be eaten with Madeira wine and punches.[4] The worst of them insisted on wearing Indian pyjamas[5] ('mosquito-drawers'), retaining their Indian servants, and speaking a hybrid language of English mixed with Indian phrases.

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[3] Vincent Cronin, A Pearl to India, New York: Dutton, 1959, p. 61.

THE INDOLOGISTS

This was the setting in which the first Indologists appeared. Whether English, German, or French, they tended to share common features. Most of them came from well-placed families and received the best education available. Few of them had any compelling ideological or religious reasons for becoming Indologists, only an insatiable curiosity about India and a desire to correct misimpressions Europeans had acquired from the earlier reports of travelers and missionaries. Most of them had remarkable enthusiasm and capacity for language learning; with the meagerest of instructional facilities they became experts in Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. They formed something of an international fraternity, with the work of one enriching that of another across national boundaries and over the decades. And most of them, rather than being looked down upon for studying the heritage of a subject people, were honored for their erudition by their scholarly colleagues and even their nations' leaders.

Philologists

The first member of this emerging fraternity to study Sanskrit was Charles (later Sir Charles) Wilkins (1749? - 1836). As a young man of nineteen or twenty he sailed to Bengal in the service of the East India Company, where his fascination for languages led him to study Persian and some of the vernaculars and finally Sanskrit--something unheard of for a servant of the East India Company. In 1778 he established a printing press for oriental languages where he was 'metallurgist, engraver, founder, and printer' for a variety of scripts including Bengali (in which he cooperatedwith Nathaniel Halhed, see below) and Persian. Later, back in England, he fashioned a supply of Nāgarī type to use in printing Sanskrit.

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[4] The word itself is derived from the Hindustani 'pānc' (five), for the five ingredients from which punch could be prepared.

[5] From the Hindustani loose-fitting trousers called 'pāyjāma'.

When Sir William Jones arrived in India (1783), Charles Wilkins helped him in his efforts to learn Sanskrit as well as to establish the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In 1785 Wilkins' translation of the Bhagavad Gītā appeared, considered to be the first direct translation from Sanskrit into English. After his return to England in 1785, he compiled a catalogue of Sir William Jones's manuscripts. In 1800 he was appointed the East India Company's librarian of oriental manuscripts, and a few years later he became examiner and visitor of the Company's college at Haileybury. His later works include a Persian, Arabic, and English dictionary (1806), a Sanskrit grammar (1808), and a treatise on Sanskrit radicals (1815). He was awarded his title in 1833, three years before his death.

Possibly the most distinguished member of the fraternity of early Indologists was William (later Sir William) Jones (1746 - 1794). As a young man in England he was fascinated by oriental languages, studying Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, and even a smattering of Chinese while in Harrow and Oxford. At the age of twenty-two he was asked to translate a Persian manuscript on the life of Nādir Shāh into French. He followed this with a French metrical version of the Persian odes of the poet Hāfiz, a Persian grammar, and English translations of various Arabic poems. By the age of twenty-eight he was a recognized orientalist in both England and France. In the course of his work, Jones had come to recognize a relationship between Persian and European languages and had rejected the widely-held view that all languages were ultimately derivable from the Hebrew that had been garbled as divine punishment at the Tower of Babel.

Jones entered law and was called to the bar at the age of thirty. Within two years he had translated the Greek speeches of Isaeus on the Athenian right of inheritance, adding his reputation as a jurist to the reputation he already enjoyed as an orientalist. In 1783 he was appointed judge of the supreme court of judicature in Calcutta (then known as 'Fort William') and was knighted.

The year after his arrival in Calcutta, Sir William Jones, in conjunction with Charles Wilkins, Warren Hastings and others, founded and became the first president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784). This Society did much to stimulate research into India's past, and its journal, Asiatic Researches, became the recognized clearinghouse for new hypotheses and discoveries. With the aid of brāhmaṇs and Charles Wilkins, Jones began to study Sanskrit. His English translation of Kālidāsa's Sanskrit drama Śakuntalā appeared in 1789—only four years after Wilkins's Bhagavad Gītā. Jones's further translations included Nārāyaṇa's Hitopadeśa (a collection of fables), Jayadeva's Gīta Govinda (describing Krishna's love for Rādhā and the milkmaids), and portions of the Vedas. On one occasion, Jones's enthusiasm for Sanskrit led him to praise its "... wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."[6] Sir William

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[6] Quoted in Wm. Theodore DeBary (ed.), Sources of Indian Tradition, New York: Columbia U. Press (paperback), 1966, vol. II, p. 38.

Jones's suggestion that Sanskrit was related to Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, and Old Persian laid the groundwork on which Franz Bopp (see below) developed the field of comparative philology.

As a judge, Sir William Jones concluded that the administration of law in India required familiarity with original Hindu and Islamic sources. His judicial and orientalist interests therefore combined in three works: the first, on Muslim succession; the second, on Muslim inheritance; and the third a translation of the Sanskrit Laws of Manu, that appeared the year he died.

Wilkins and Jones are often considered the founders of Indology. But they were surrounded by a growing band of talented men studying Sanskrit and other Indian languages, preparing dictionaries and grammars, and translating Sanskrit works into English, French, or German. Nathaniel B. Halhed (1751 - 1830) had met William Jones while a student in Oxford, where Jones encouraged him to study Arabic. Upon completing Oxford, Halhed received a writership in the East India Company and sailed to Bengal. There, at Governor General Warren Hastings's suggestion, he translated a Persian abridgement of the Gentoo Code, a brāhmaṇical legal compilation derived at Hastings's insistence from ancient Sanskrit texts to aid court administration. In 1778 Halhed published a Bengali grammar, using Bengali print type cut by Charles Wilkins.

Henry T. Colebrooke (1765- 1837) arrived in Bengal in 1782 with an assignment to the courts. At first he was repelled by the extravagence and heavy mythological reference of Indian literature and felt no particular attraction for language study. However, he came to realize that in order to administer justice he would have to study Sanskrit. In time he took up the translation of the unabridged Gentoo Code, and in 1798 his Digest of Hindu Law appeared in four volumes. Perhaps Colebrooke is best known for his essay on the Vedas (1805). Brāhmaṇs typically attributed phenomenal age and knowledge to the Vedas; whereas Europeans had come to hold the Vedas in suspicion. Colebrooke's scholarship did a great deal to establish a middle ground between the two positions. In 1805 Lord Wellesley appointed Colebrooke professor of Hindu Law and Sanskrit in the newly founded college at Ft. William. After his return to England, Colebrooke completed several works on Indian mathematics, science, and philosophy, and in 1823 he joined Horace H. Wilson (see below) in founding the Royal Asiatic Society.

Frenchmen had also been active in translating classical Indian texts. The French missionaries at Pondicherry had translated the Yajur Veda into a book entitled L'Ezour Vedam. In time it had reached Europe, affecting among others the philosopher Voltaire. An energetic pioneer was Abraham H. Anquetil-Duperron (1731- 1805). He originally planned to enter the priesthood, but his fascination for Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, and other eastern languages diverted him. In 1755 he reached the French colony of Pondicherry, where he studied modern Persian, traveled to Chandernagore to study Sanskrit, and eventually landed in Surat, where he learned Zend and

Pahlavi, the languages of the Zoroastrian texts. The Anglo-French wars made it difficult for Frenchmen to travel about India, and Anquetil-Duperron returned to France with his manuscripts. By 1802 he had translated into Latin all fifty of the Upaniṣads in the manuscript entitled "Oupnekhat". The translation was a strange mixture of Sanskrit, Persian, Latin, and Greek, since Duperron lacked equivalents for many terms. Nonetheless, this was the translation that so influenced Arthur Schopenhauer (see below).

In 1795 the government of the French Republic established L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. By a quirk of history, the Englishman Alexander Hamilton (1762 - 1824), who had been one of the founders of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and chanced to be working on some manuscripts in the Paris library in 1803 when war broke out between Britain and France, was taken hostage by the French. As a prisoner, he became the first Sanskrit instructor in Europe, serving in L'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. One of his colleagues was A. Léonard de Chézy, who had taught himself Sanskrit with the aid of Duperron's manuscripts. Hamilton's students included two German brothers, August Wilhelm and Friedrich von Schlegel (see below), who in turn transmitted their learning to Germany. Hamilton was freed in 1808 and returned to England, where he became professor of Sanskrit and Hindu literature in the first English institution to teach Sanskrit (1805), the training college for the East India Company civil servants originally at Hertford and later at Haileybury.

In 1814 the Collège de France pioneered by appointing Léonard de Chézy to a university chair of Sanskrit. Chézy was succeeded by Eugene Burnouf, who composed a French translation of the Bhagavad Gītā, and whose lectures influenced the young Max Müller.

The Englishman Horace H. Wilson (1786 - 1860) traveled to India as assistant-surgeon to Bengal for the East India Company. During the six-month voyage he studied Hindustani, and after reaching Calcutta he began Sanskrit. In 1813 he published his first Sanskrit translation, an annotated text of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta ('Cloud-messenger'). By 1819 he had completed his Sanskrit-English dictionary that, in its revised 1831 form, remained the standard reference for European scholars until it was replaced in the middle of the century by the St. Petersburg Lexicon, a huge Sanskrit-German dictionary compiled by two German scholars, Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, and published in sections between 1852 and 1875 by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. The Lexicon stood as one of the most impressive achievements of nineteenth century Indic scholarship.

After returning from India to London, Horace Wilson, along with Colebrooke and others, founded the Royal Asiatic Society. He served as examiner at the Company's college at Haileybury. In 1832 he was appointed to England's first university chair of Sanskrit at Oxford.

Sir Monier Monier-Williams (1819 – 1899) was born in Bombay, the son of Colonel Williams, surveyor-general of Bombay presidency. He returned to England for his schooling and was in training at Haileybury college to return to India when news reached him that his younger brother had been killed in battle in Sindh. To comfort his bereaved mother, he remained in England, enrolling in Oxford, where he studied Sanskrit with Horace H. Wilson.

In 1844 he was made professor of Sanskrit, Persian, and Hindustani in Haileybury. While there he produced one of his best-known works, his prose and verse translation of Kālidāsa's Śakuntala (1853). He continued to teach at Haileybury until 1858, when the British crown replaced the East India Company as ruler of India, and the Company college at Haileybury was closed. In 1860 Monier-Williams was elected to fill the Sanskrit chair in Oxford left vacant by the retirement of Horace Wilson. There he initiated the Indian Institute in Oxford, a center for the diffusion of scholarly information about India and, in time, a valuable storehouse of oriental manuscripts.

In addition to his work on Sanskrit dictionaries and grammars, Monier-Williams prepared a Hindustani manual and grammar. Unlike many of his contemporaries such as Max Müller (see below), he had relatively little interest in the ancient Vedas, Upanisads, or legal texts. Rather, he concentrated on the slightly more recent Sanskrit literature. His book Indian Wisdom (1875), containing selections from Sanskrit literature, reflects his interest in esthetics. Monier-Williams supported missionary activity in India but felt that such activity should be conducted on the basis of correct information about Hinduism. To disseminate such information, he wrote a number of popular books, including Religious Life and Thought in India (1883) and Brahmanism and Hinduism (4th ed., 1891).

The field of Indic studies launched an entirely new discipline thanks to the Bavarian scholar Franz Bopp (1791 – 1867). At the age of twenty, Bopp went to Paris to study Sanskrit. Five years later he had published his effort to trace the common origin of Sanskrit, Latin, Persian, and German. This was the cornerstone for the field of comparative linguistics (see below). At the age of thirty Bopp was appointed to the chair of Sanskrit in Berlin, where he translated a number of works from Sanskrit into Latin, including the story of Nala and Damayanti from the Mahābhārata (1819) and prepared a Sanskrit-Latin dictionary. His basic interest remained in philology, the study of languages as such, and he transmitted this interest to his students.

(Friedrich) Max Müller (1823 – 1900) was born in Germany and first studied Sanskrit in the University of Leipzig. His German translation of the Hitopadeśa appeared in 1844, the same year he enrolled in the University of Berlin and studied with Franz Bopp. While in Paris, Müller learned the language of the Zend Avesta from Eugene Burnouf, and his interest in comparative philology expanded to include comparative religion.

Müller began working on an edition of the oldest sacred text of India, the Ṛg Veda, collating various manuscripts and studying later commentaries. In 1848 he moved to Oxford to be near the University press that was printing the Ṛg Veda under commission from the East India Company. Within two years he had secured an appointment in Oxford to the newly-established chair of comparative philology.

Max Müller possessed a remarkable breadth of interests and skills. His interest in Sanskrit was reflected in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859) and his Sanskrit grammar. His interest in philology was demonstrated in his *Science of Languages* (1861). His concern for Hindu religion and philosophy are reflected in his works *India, What Can it Teach Us?* (1883), *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* (1899), and *Ramakrishna: His Life and Sayings* (1899). He is one of the founders of the field of comparative religion or the history of religion (see below). But he is perhaps most widely remembered for editing the Oxford University Press *Sacred Books of the East* series, fifty-one volumes of scholarly translations of the major non-Christian Oriental scriptures from such languages as Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Chinese, Arabic, Zend, and Pahlave. Müller himself translated the Vedic Hymns and Upaniṣads from Sanskrit and the Dhammapada from Pali as volumes in the series. The *Sacred Books of the East* series did much to make the English-speaking world aware of the heritage of oriental religions and philosophies.

Although Müller never visited India, his home in Oxford became a virtual pilgrimage place for Indians in England who wanted to see the man who had published the Ṛg Veda and had written so much on Indian philosophy and religion. His personal attraction to India was reflected in his statement:

> If I were to ask myself from what literature we here in Europe, who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of the Greeks and Romans, and one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more universal, in fact, more human, I should point to India.[7]

In time Max Müller became a naturalized English citizen. He was well known to Queen Victoria and the royal family, he was a recipient of some of the highest awards of several European countries, and he was even offered a British title.

By the latter decades of the nineteenth century, the number of Indologists had expanded enough for there to be International Oriental Congresses. The first one convened in 1874. Max Müller presided over the Congress in 1892. Few men contributed as much to the field of Indic studies as Max Müller.

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[7] Quoted in L. S. S. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 566.

Edwin (later Sir Edwin) Arnold (1832 – 1904) followed a somewhat different career pattern from the Indologists listed above. An aspiring poet, in 1856 he was nominated principal of the government Deccan College in Poona, the old capital of the Peshwas. It was only then that he began studying Eastern languages including Sanskrit, Turkish, and Persian. After returning to England in 1861 and securing a position on the 'Daily Telegraph', he began writing blank verse translations of some of the major Indian scriptures: "The Indian Song of Songs from the Jayadeva" (1875) describing the loves of Krishna (and bringing down a storm of protest on his head), and his vastly popular "Light of Asia" (1879), an epic poem narrating the life and teachings of Buddha that ran into sixty editions in England and eighty in America, and was made into a cantata and opera in Europe (1891) and a play in the United States. Arnold's verse translation of "The Song Celestial or Bhagavad-Gītā" (1896) was later incorporated as volume 39 in the Harvard Oriental Series. In "The Song Celestial" he wrote:

> So have I read this wonderful and spirit-thrilling speech,
> By Krishna and Prince Arjun held, discoursing each with each;
> So have I writ its wisdom here, – its hidden mystery,
> For England; O our India! as dear to me as She!

The majority of Indologists focused their attention on Sanskrit and Hinduism. Providing a degree of balance were Thomas W. and his wife Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, who devoted their energies to Buddhist studies and the translations of Pali texts. Thomas W. Rhys Davids (1843 – 1922) studied Sanskrit in Breslau University before joining the Ceylon civil service in 1866. It was in Ceylon that he began the study of Pali and early Buddhism. After ten years, he returned to England, where he devoted himself to the further study of Buddhism. In 1878 he published Buddhism for the missionary Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This rapidly went through twenty-three editions. He proceeded to translate numerous Pali texts: Buddhist Birth Stories (1880), Buddhist Suttas from the Pali (1881), Vinayana Texts (three volumes, 1881–1885), and Questions of King Milinda (1890–1894). In 1881 he founded the Pali Text Society that over the years has published some two dozen English translations of Pali texts as well as over one hundred Pali texts and a Pali-English dictionary. His own work continued unabated, with a three-volume Dialogues of the Buddha (1899–1921) prepared in collaboration with his wife, Buddhist India (1903), and his own favorite, Early Buddhism (1908).

During this period, the field of Indology was also starting in the United States. Edward E. Salisbury (1814 – 1901), four years after learning Arabic in Paris and Sanskrit in Berlin (from Franz Bopp), was appointed professor of Arabic and Sanskrit at Yale in 1841. One of the students in his first Sanskrit class was William D. Whitney (1827 – 1894), whose interest in Sanskrit and comparative philology had been aroused by a chance reading of Franz Bopp's Sanskrit grammar. In Salisbury's own words, it soon became "evident that the teacher and the taught must change places." Whitney sailed for Europe to study with Bopp. In 1854, after he returned, Whitney was offered the Yale 'Professorship of the Sanskrit and its Relations to Kindred Languages, and Sanskrit Literature,' a title subsequently shortened to the 'Salisbury Professorship of Sanskrit'. He held this post for forty years. Whitney's translations include the Atharva Veda and the Sūrya-Siddhānta (a treatise on Hindu astrology). He is best known, however, for his Sanskrit Grammar (1879), a work through which generations of American students have been introduced to Sanskrit.

Charles R. Lanman (1850-1941) studied Sanskrit under Whitney in Yale, then traveled to Europe for further training in Berlin, Tübingen, and Leipzig. Upon his return from Europe in 1876, he became teacher of Sanskrit at Johns Hopkins until he was invited to become professor of Sanskrit in Harvard in 1880. In 1889 he traveled to India, where he acquired about five hundred Sanskrit and Pali manuscripts and numerous valuable books for the Harvard library. His Sanskrit Reader (1884) has gone through numerous reissues and occupies a place in pedagogy alongside Whitney's Grammar. Lanman is perhaps best known as editor of the Harvard Oriental Series. This series continues to bring out additional volumes (1965 saw the release of volume 44) and is described as "a contribution to the work of enabling the Occident to understand the Orient."

Maurice Bloomfield (1855-1928) studied Sanskrit under Whitney in Yale, took advanced work with Lanman in Johns Hopkins, studied for two years in the universities of Berlin and Leipzig, and returned in 1881 to be professor of Sanskrit and comparative philology in Johns Hopkins. His massive Vedic Concordance (1906) was awarded the Hardy prize by the Royal Academy of Bavaria, and will remain a standard work for years to come. Bloomfield taught Sanskrit to Henry C. Warren (1854-1899) who became the first American to achieve distinction in Pali and who provided the funds whereby the volumes of the Harvard Oriental Series have been printed.

By the twentieth century the Indologists had provided a rich legacy of Indian materials for the Western intellectual world. Yet for all their efforts, the legacy was not without its shortcomings. The writings they had translated into European languages were usually scriptures (the Vedas, Upaniṣads, the Pali canon, the Bhagavad Gītā), the lawbooks, and selections from epics, myths, drama, and poetry. The heavy emphasis on Sanskrit, with secondary emphases on Pali, Prakrit, and Persian, meant that religious and philosophical writings in other languages often went untranslated, and hence virtually unknown, in the West for further decades. Particularly missed was the large body of bhakti (devotional) literature. In some ways bhakti literature was more 'typical' of widespread Hindu beliefs than were the Sanskrit texts. But such literature was usually composed in medieval or modern vernaculars: Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Punjabi, or Hindi. The missionaries who knew the vernaculars were rarely inclined to study or translate non-Christian devotional literature; the Sanskrit scholars rarely knew the vernaculars andfrequently had little or no first-hand knowledge of medieval or modern Hindu beliefs and practices. Hence, more through default than any conscious planning, much of the bhakti literature remained untranslated until the twentieth century.[8] This accident of translations affected Indian studies in the West. The Sanskrit materials that were translated were, by and large, the shared legacy of the brāhmaṇs and pundits of India--those who themselves knew Sanskrit. Western intellectuals, through being exposed largely to translations of these materials, came to view Hinduism as unduly unified. They saw its six schools of philosophy, its basically ascetic and other-worldly orientation, its four stages of life, its orthodox rites, and its four varṇas or social ranks.

Following World War II, when scholars began conducting an increasing amount of research in India, they discovered discrepancies between the India they had read about and the India they saw--between the one 'Great Tradition' of the Sanskrit texts and the multiple 'Little Traditions' of the people and priests in any given locality. During the 1950's and 1960's a tension in the field of Indian studies--especially in the United States--existed along the 'Great Tradition - Little Tradition' axis. To the extent that this tension has stimulated the generation of hypotheses, the gathering of fresh data, and the re-analysis of former data, it has added vitality to contemporary research. But had the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century translations included greater proportions of vernacular and bhakti materials, the misconceptions that are currently being dissipated might never have arisen.

Since World War II, the study of Indian languages and literature has developed in many parts of the world. Translations aimed at the general reader appear in London's *Wisdom of the East* series. London University's School of Oriental and African Studies maintains its tradition of excellence in Indian studies and publishes continuing scholarly translations of Asian religious and philosophical texts in its *London Oriental Series*. The Soviet Union conducts large programs in Indian languages, especially in Moscow and Tashkent, with advanced students taking further training in India.

The study of India in the United States has been aided by grants from large foundations, access to rupees through Public Law 83–480, the Foreign Area Training Fellowship Program, the American Institute of Indian Studies, and National Defense Education Act awards to universities and students. In 1967 special South Asia Language and Area programs existed in over a dozen centers, including the Universities of Arizona, California (Berkeley), Chicago, Cornell, Duke, Hawaii, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Pennsylvania, Rochester, Syracuse, Texas, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. Two major professional societies concern themselves with India: the American Oriental Society (founded in China by American scholars in 1842 but even in its early years including such Indologists as Edward Salisbury and William Whitney) with its *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; and the Association for Asian Studies (that abandoned its Far Eastern Association name in 1956 when it included Indologists as members and changed the title of its journal from the *Far Eastern Quarterly* to the *Journal of Asian Studies*). The University of Wisconsin administers a College Year in India Program wherein undergraduates from American colleges spend a year of study in India. Special seminars and summer workshops have enabled both high school and college faculty members to study India seriously. The Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has subsidized the preparation of instructional materials on India including films, slides, and language tapes. And the Foreign Area Materials Center of the University of the State of New York and the Educational Resources Center in New Delhi have helped libraries purchase sets of books from India and have aided in the distribution of art slides, syllabi, and select bibliographies.

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[8] Rabindranath Tagore's English translations of Kabir's songs appeared in 1917. They were followed by Francis Kingsbury's and G.E. Philips' *Hymns of the Tamil Saivite Saints* (1921), Jadunath Sarkar's translation of Caitanya's life and teachings (1922), J.S.M. Hooper's *Hymns of the Alvars* (1929), J.S. Hoyland's translation of the devotional songs of Tukaram (1932), and G. Matthew's rendering of the *Śivañana Bodham of Meykanda* (1948). Wm. Theodore DeBary's (ed.) *Sources of Indian Tradition* (1958) made additional bhakti materials available to the English-speaking world, as did Edward C. Dimock's *In Praise of Krishna: Songs from the Bengali* (1966). Certain important bhakti materials are still unavailable in English.

Archaeologists

Sir William Jones, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and most of the other scholars listed above took as their major point of inquiry into India's past her rich literary and linguistic heritage. Nonetheless, the Society and its journal, *Asiatic Researches*, did provide a clearing house for reports of archaeological sites and physical artifacts and in this way encouraged the identification, study, and preservation of ancient monuments, some of which had been lost to memory. For example, the Ajanta caves with their exquisite Buddhist paintings had been buried for centuries under rock slides and weeds until a British hunting party chanced to pass through that valley in 1817.

For scholars of ancient India, inscriptions in the earliest Brahmi script posed a particular puzzle. None of the pundits were able to read them, and Sir William Jones, Colebrooke, and Wilson had all been baffled by them. James Prinsep (1799-1840), an officer in the Calcutta mint who also happened to be secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, worked backward from current scripts through older ones until, in 1837, he succeeded in deciphering the inscriptions; thereby making it possible for scholars to read the edicts of the emperor Aśoka, who ruled much of India in the third century B.C.

One of Prinsep's colleagues in the deciphering venture was Alexander (later Sir Alexander) Cunningham (1814 – 1893), an officer in the Royal Engineers. Although Cunningham's training had been largely military, he developed an early fascination for the artifacts of ancient India. Four years after he arrived in India, he excavated the Buddhist ruins in Sārnāth, outside Banaras. In 1848 he published a description of temples in Kashmir, and in 1854 he presented his efforts to reconstruct Buddhist history from relics in central India. In 1856 Cunningham visited the site of Harappā, in the Punjab. There an Englishman, William Brunton, was having his workmen take brick from a shapeless mound of an old city to use as ballast in laying the East Indian Railway from Karachi to Lahore. Cunningham obtained from the workmen various artifacts they had discovered in the ruins, including engraved steatite seals bearing an unknown script and the figure of a bull. Cunningham realized that these seals were unlike any other antiquities he had seen and guessed that they must be very ancient. But it was not until seventy years later that they were identified as relics of India's oldest known civilization, named after the site, the Harappā civilization.

When Cunningham retired as major general in 1861, he was appointed to the newly-created post of Archaeological Surveyor to the Government of India. In this capacity, and later as Director General of the Archaeological Survey, he explored and reported on sites from Taxila in the northwest to Gaur in the east. Through deciphering the inscriptions on old coins he found at various sites throughout India, he concluded that coined money was known in India before the invasion of Alexander the Great, and he provided clues to the chronology of invasions and kingdoms during periods in Indian history on which written records shed little light.

In 1901 the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, enlarged the Archaeological Survey and in 1902 he announced the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. With the Viceroy's support and more generous funds, it was possible for the new Director General, John (later Sir John) Marshall (1876 – 1958) to launch systematic investigations rather than confining himself to describing and preserving standing monuments.

To date the most dramatic find of the Archaeological Survey has been the discovery of the Indus or Harappā civilization, dating back to the third millennium B.C. In 1922, R. D. Banerji, an officer of the Archaeological Survey, came across seals similar to those found by Cunningham, but about 350 miles further south at a site called Mohenjo Daro ('Mound of the Dead'). Banerji identified the seals as pre-Aryan, and Sir John Marshall began systematic excavations at the site in 1924. Since then, diggings in the Indus valley and elsewhere have shown that this civilization extended as far east as the Ganges-Jamna plains and further south than the Narbada river.

Characteristic steatite seals from the Indus valley civilization have been discovered in Mesopotamia with artifacts of the First Dynasty of Babylon. No artifacts have been found after the fall of the First Dynasty (c. 1600 B.C.), suggesting that both civilizations were overrun about the same time.

Much work remains to be done by the Archaeological Survey of India, now entirely in Indian hands. But the conception of the Survey, and most of its early reports, are the work of Englishmen imbued with curiosity as to what secrets of India's past lay hidden in temples and caves or buried beneath India's soil.

Scholars of Indian Art and Music

In the seventeenth century India's miniature paintings found many admirers in the West, including Sir Thomas Roe, the emissary to the emperor Jahāngīr's court. The Dutch artist Rembrandt knew of Mughul art. At one time Rembrandt painted a portrait of Abraham Wilmerdonks of the Dutch East India Company; Wilmerdonks was a connoisseur of Indian art and may have been the source from which Rembrandt obtained his book of 'curious miniature drawings', as well as portraits of Jahāngīr and Tīmūr. In the eighteenth century Warren Hastings and other Company servants collected examples of Indian art, some of which are now in the India Museum (South Kensington) and the British Museum. During the same period, Sir Joshua Reynolds declared that "the barbaric splendours of Asiatic buildings" might suggest hints or general effects that could be borrowed by Western architects. Certain of the 'nabobs' back from India insisted that their residences be done in Indian style. Thus, for example, the architect Humphrey Repton, on instructions, designed a country home in Gloucestershire patterned after Hyder Ali Khān's tomb in Hyderabad.

The nineteenth century witnessed one notorious effort at imitating Indian architecture in England. In 1805 the Prince Regent ordered that a building called the Dome on his Brighton estate be enlarged. The enlargement was planned and executed along the lines of Hindustani architecture; the result was the Royal Brighton Pavilion, that has aroused considerable comment but has at least served a useful purpose as a hospital for Indian soldiers in two World Wars.

The Victorian era was a time of standards and judgments, and art was no exception. Greek and Roman realism were seen to provide the criteria for quality, and according to these criteria, Indian art fell short of the mark. John Ruskin, the English author, art critic, and social reformer, in an 1858 lecture at South Kensington Museum, stated that art in India

> either forms its compositions out of meaningless fragments of colour and flowings of line; or if it represents any living creature, it represents that creature under some distorted or monstrous form. To all facts or forms of nature it wilfully and resolutely opposes itself; it will not draw a man but an eight-

> armed monster; it will not draw a flower but only a spiral or a zig-zag.[9]

Even James Fergusson's two-volume History of Indian and Eastern Architecture and Alexander Cunningham's beautifully illustrated book Mahabodhi or The Great Buddhist Temple at Buddha Gaya (1892) produced few re-examinations of culturally-based esthetic prejudices. In the twentieth century Ernest B. Havell's Ideals of Indian Art (1911) and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's Essays in National Idealism and History of Indian and Indonesian Art (1927) began, at last, to raise questions concerning the premises of artistic appreciation. Monsieur A. Foucher's studies of Buddhist and Gandhāra art, Stella Kramrisch's work on Hindu temples, Heinrich Zimmer's explanations of Indian symbolism, and the compendia of Vincent Smith, Benjamin Rowland, Percy Brown, and Herman Goetz have all contributed to the West's understanding of Indian art. Today, collections of Indian art and architecture can be found in many Western museums, including the Musée Guimet in Paris, the Ethnographical Museum in Leyden, the British Museum in London, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, where Ananda K. Coomaraswamy served for years as 'Keeper of Indian and Muhammadan Art.'

The Western study of Indian music was even later in coming. The earliest European travelers in India were forced, on occasion, to listen to Indian music. Their responses were rarely enthusiastic. Francois Bernier, who remained in Aurangzīb's court for twelve years, described his reactions to the Delhi Imperial Band as follows:

> On my first arrival it stunned me so as to be insupportable: but such is the power of habit that this same noise is now heard by me with pleasure; in the night particularly, when in bed and afar, on my terrace this music sounds in my ears as solemn grand and melodious.[10]

As the English enclaves grew in size during the latter half of the eighteenth century, Englishmen felt little pressure even to appear to tolerate 'country musick'. Whereas in former days on great occasions the Company had hired its own Indian band, it now dissolved a band given as a gift by Muḥammad 'Alī. Captain Campbell found Indian music "inelegant, harsh, and dissonant," and Major Blackiston recorded his observation that, in fact, Indians "have no music in their souls." Indian forms of dance, in time, also fell into disgrace. The main performers seen by Englishmen were the nautch girls, hired by Indian hosts to entertain their foreign guests. In 1826 Mrs. Fenton, an Englishwoman, described such a nautch girl as "an odious specimen of Hindustanee beauty", who "made frightful contortions of her arms and hands, head and eyes. This was her poetry of motion. I could not even laugh at it."[11]

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[9] Quoted in L. S. S. O'Malley, op. cit., p. 564.

[10] Percival Spear, The Nabobs, London: Oxford U. Press (paperback), 1963, p. 33, footnote.

It has only been in the past few decades that serious efforts have been made by such groups as London's Asian Music Circle to introduce Indian music and musicians to audiences in the West. A pioneer in this regard has been the American violinist, Yehudi Menuhin. As a child virtuoso in Paris, he became friends with Ravi Shankar, who at that time was dancing in Paris with his brother Uday's troupe. Together the two men, Menuhin and Ravi, have worked to build a musical bridge between India and the West. In 1952 Menuhin toured India giving violin concerts, and it was partly through his efforts that Western commercial recordings were made of the sarod player, Ali Akbar Khan.

In recent years the West has been visited by a distinguished list of Indian musicians, including such notables as Ravi Shankar, the sitar player, and M.S. Subbulakshmi, the vocalist. Programs of Indian dance have also been well received in the West, as evidenced by the well-attended performances of dancers such as Indrani Rehman, Uday Shankar, and Bala Saraswati. In 1963 the American Society for Eastern Arts was established to promote centers where the "aesthetics of Oriental and Middle Eastern cultures can be presented in a scholarly and a leisurely atmosphere." The Society has sponsored summer programs for those wishing to study Oriental music. A fully-developed program in Indian music is now offered by the World Music program of Wesleyan University, Connecticut.

THE PORTRAYERS

Alongside the Indologists have been another group of Westerners 'involved in the formal presentation of ideas'-- the Portrayers. These men and women, following the legacy of earlier travelers, have set down for the benefit of the public their feelings about the India they themselves have experienced. These feelings may be fictionalized, or they may be direct. But they are there for all to see, and they can, and frequently do, shape more widespread public opinion.

The best-known portrayer of India to the English-speaking world has been Joseph Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936). Kipling was born in Bombay, where his father was architectural sculptor in the Bombay School of Art. Until the age of six, he was cared for by an Indian āyah (nursemaid), and some of his sympathetic Indian imagery in the Jungle Books (1894 and 1895) and Kim (1901) can be traced to this early period. He completed his schooling in England, then returned at seventeen to work on the staff of the Lahore "Civil and Military Gazette." The pageant of India provided the setting for his verses; England's imperial personnel gave him his heroes, represented so often in the unappreciated, indispensable English soldier, Tommy Atkins. By the time he was twenty-two (1888), Kipling had published over seventy stories in such well-known collections as Departmental Ditties, Soldiers Three, In Black and White, and Wee Willie Winkie. These collections were widely read, and in later years several became the subjects of movie films.[12] Between 1892 (Barrack-Room Ballads) and 1896 (The Seven Seas), Kipling became the spokesman for a political creed, one that he shared with his friend Cecil Rhodes of South Africa. It was a creed of righteous imperialism, of civilized men doing justice and upholding the law wherever they saw duty calling them, even if it meant being misunderstood and criticized by the great body of the English public back home. Kipling received the Nobel prize for literature in 1907, and was thrice offered the poet laureatship of England. Words like 'bungalow', 'chit', and 'blighty' (vilayati)[13] crept into the English language through Kipling, as did such phrases as 'the White Man's burden' (from his poem by that title) and "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." For him, the British raj was a sacred trust--a legacy of unsung Tommy Atkinses who died in deserts and fierce mountain passes so the district officer, the engineer, the judge, and the bridge-builder could bring the blessings of civilization to those for whom life was but "a question between a crop and a crop".

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[11] Ibid., p. 36.

Edward M. Forster (1879-   ) differs in many ways from Kipling. Although not raised in India, as Kipling was, he did visit India in 1912 and 1921, and remained as secretary of the Maharaja of Dewas Senior. His two major novels about India, A Passage to India (1924) and The Hill of Devi (1953) deal with an elaborate cast of characters, both British and Indian. Gone are Kipling's sharply-etched imperialists, who saw their duty clearly and did it. In their places are a disparate group of Englishmen who disagree among themselves almost as much as they disagree with the Indians. They are matched by an equally disparate group of Indians who disagree with each other over how English or indigenous they should be. Forster claimed he could not understand India; yet he admired her "...refusal to make sense according to Western logic." At the end of Passage to India he has the Kṛṣṇa festival draw all Indians together in a manner unexplainable yet apparent...to Hindus as well as to himself. Both Passage... and The Hill of Devi are appeals for tolerance of, and even a begrudging respect for, India and Hindu thought.

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[12] For example, "Gunga Din" starring Douglas Fairbanks Jr. and Cary Grant, and "Wee Willie Winkie" starring Shirley Temple. Thomas Edison's "Hindoo Fakir" (1902) was the first movie film in the United States on India, followed by the "Charge of the First Bengal Lancers" in 1903. 'Kiplingesque' themes subsequently played a major part in movies dealing with India, e.g., "The Black Watch" (1929), "Lives of a Bengal Lancer" (1936), "King of the Khyber Rifles" (1954), and "The Bengal Brigade" (1954). For a more complete treatment of India as presented in movies, see Dorothy Jones, The Portrayal of China and India on the American Screen, 1896-1955, Cambridge, Mass.: Center for International Studies, M.I.T., 1955.

[13] For a description of Indian language borrowings into English, see G. Subbha Rao, Indian Words in English, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954.

Two other English Portrayers deserve mention; Christine Weston (1904-), who grew up in India and describes the meeting of East and West in her novel Indigo (1944), and Rumer Godden (1907-) also with an Indian childhood, who in her Black Narcissus (1939), Breakfast With Nikolides (1941), and probably autobiographical The River (1946) sketches with gentle realism the dilemmas of Englishmen trying to live in and cope with India. Their mood and their appeal resemble those of E. M. Forster.

America has had her own Portrayers of India. Among the most prominent--either for general literary stature, or for political impact--are Mark Twain (Samuel Longhorn Clemens, 1835-1910) and Katherine Mayo (1868 - 1940). The year 1895 saw Mark Twain on a trip around the world, lecturing and writing articles in an effort to recoup serious financial losses. Twain's Following the Equator (1897) is a collection of these articles, some of which deal with India: "Bombay! A bewitching place, bewildering place, an enchanting place--and the Arabian Nights come again!"[14] He continues: "This is India! The land of dreams and romance, of fabulous wealth and fabulous poverty." He is especially impressed with the 'sumptuous titles' and 'barbaric gorgeousness'. He speaks mostly of isolated incidents--street scenes, religious ceremonies, market places, mystics, and washermen--with little effort to place them in a larger context. Although he understands that custom is important in India, he retains his American intolerance of custom for its own sake. He refers to 'Hindu patience' as a form of masochism. In describing the pilgrims' procedure of worship, he feels, with characteristic pragmatism, that they should work out a clear itinerary in advance: "...we have then a definite starting place, and a march which carried the pilgrims steadily forward by reasoned and logical progression to a definite goal."[15] His overall evaluation of India is captured, perhaps, in his comment that it is up to the civilized to "deliver this land from error's chain."[16]

Nearly three decades later, Katherine Mayo, a doctor and a member of the medical Mayo family, traveled to India to examine it from the perspective of public health. Her report, Mother India (1927), found wide reading in the West and aroused a storm of protest in India. From the clinical point of view, much of what she said was accurate. She described a woman in Calcutta's Kālī temple bathing herself in the blood of a freshly-beheaded goat, her visits to women's clinics in which ninety per cent of the pelvic inflammation was gonorrheal, her examination of a child bride whose uterus had been severely damaged through intercourse with her husband. Her statistics were less reliable: 3,200,000 mothers died of childbirth every generation; seven or eight out of every ten males between the ages of twenty-five and thirty were impotent. To make a point, she occasionally exaggerated, as when she stated that at Banaras "The river banks are dried sewage. The river water is liquid sewage."[17] According to Miss Mayo, no Indian woman of child-bearing age could venture 'within reach of Indian men' without protection and no Hindu was ashamed to be 'caught in a lie'. Miss Mayo suggested that the roots of these problems were not technical but were attitudinal.

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[14] Mark Twain, Following the Equator, Hartford: American Publishing Company, 1897, p. 345.

[15] Ibid., p. 394.

[16] Ibid., pp. 491-492.

> Inertia, helplessness, lack of initiative and originality, lack of staying power and of sustained loyalties, sterility of enthusiasm, weakness of life-vigor itself--all are traits that truly characterize the Indian not only of today, but of long-past history.[18]

Miss Mayo concluded:

> ... India has carried the principles of egocentricity and of a materialism called spirituality to a further and wider conclusion than has the West.[19]

Statements like these gave further support to those in the West who believed that Christianity or its corollary, Western enlightenment, provided the only answer for India's problems.

A few names should be mentioned of Portrayers who have dealt with India since Independence. Known to the widest reading audience, perhaps, is John Masters (1914-). Born in Calcutta, he enjoyed a successful career in the British Indian army before leaving in 1947 with India's independence. Most of Masters' novels are adventure stories with historical settings. The members of one family, the Savages, loosely tie together the novels that deal with Anglo-Indian relations between 1600 and 1947. Nightrunners of Bengal (1951) relives the uprising of 1857; The Deceivers (1952) deals with thugee or ritual murder practiced in northern India until the late 1830's; Bhowani Junction (1954) depicts British and Anglo-Indian life during the final years of India's struggle for independence; and Bugles and a Tiger (1956) is a narrative of the author's own experiences in the British Indian army. Masters' novels convey much of the same white-man's burden ideology as Kipling's writings. However, in the post-Independence context, this ideology, though romantic, seems quaintly irrelevant.

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[17] Katherine Mayo, Mother India, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1927, p. 359.
[18] Ibid., p. 16.
[19] Ibid., p. 409.

Ruth P. Jhabvala (1927-), a European of German-English descent and married to an Indian, writes mainly of urban, middle-class Indian life. Robin White (1928-), the son of Congregational missionary parents in South India, describes life within the missionary compound and in the South Indian villages surrounding it. David Rubin (1924-), who has taught in India, deals with the phenomenon of the American visiting professor to India in his The Greater Darkness (1963). Each of these writers deals with variants on the East-meets-West theme--Indians with Westernized Indians, or Indians with Westerners. They are concerned more with tracing the understandings and misunderstandings as they affect the development of personalities and the interpersonal relations than they are with pleading for tolerance, evangelism, or an extension or reduction of the British raj. To a certain extent, the Portrayers have gone full circle--from dealing with India, the land of the uniquely mysterious, to dealing with India, a variant setting for man, the universally mysterious.

ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES AND INDIAN INFORMATION

Most immediately influenced by the expanding flow of information from India during the nineteenth century were the formal and informal advisors of the East India Company. The economist Adam Smith (1723- 1790), an advocate of Free Trade, attacked the 'mercantile system' and the East India Company's monopoly privileges. The social philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748- 1832) insisted that enlightened laws could reform societies. His followers, including the Bengali intellectual Rammohun Roy, saw India as a field for testing his position. In 1817 James Mill, a follower instrumental in affixing the label 'Utilitarian' to Bentham's position, published a book on Indian history stressing India's need for radical reform. From 1818 on Mill held a high position in the London headquarters of the East India Company. In 1828 Lord William Bentinck wrote to Bentham from India, "I shall govern in name, but it will be you who will govern in fact."[20] The reforms he inaugurated served as 'fieldwork' for some of the Benthamite propositions.

Thomas Malthus (1766- 1834) taught political economy and general history in the Company's Haileybury College. Here, while weighing the evidence from India and Europe, he wrote his "Essay on Population" predicting the near inevitability of populations outstripping their food resources. He was followed at Haileybury by Richard Jones (1790 - 1855) whose book on 'rent' challenged earlier assumptions on the subject by Adam Smith and even Malthus. The Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville, in seeking guidelines for the French colonial administration in Algeria, studied the success of the British in India. In his notes he wrote:

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[20] Quoted in Percival Spear, India, A Modern History, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961, p. 256.

> India. A great position, from which England dominates all Asia. A glory which revives the entire English nation. What a sense of grandeur and power this possession creates in every part of that people. The value of a conquest ought not to be calculated only in terms of financial and commercial considerations.[21]

De Tocqueville recommended that the French administrators be firm with their 'half-civilized peoples', give exact but rigorous justice, encourage the settlement of colonists, and maintain the separation of civilian and military administration.

The above advisors dealt with specific points of colonial administration or with its broad morality. Such is the nature of a colonial advisor's position. Somewhat apart from the advisors were the academics. Typically they incorporated information from India into their own writing with little concern for the fact that it came from India. They were working on larger puzzles; it was enough that India provided useful pieces to fit into that puzzle. Pieces could equally well come from Iceland, Africa, or Polynesia. But from the point of view of India's influence on Western intellectuals, the fact that information came from India is itself worth recording.

The mood for much of nineteenth-century research and speculation in France and England was set by Condorcet's "Essay on the Progress of the Human Spirit" (1794), and endorsed by Auguste Conte's volumes on 'Positive Philosophy'. The history of man was the history of progress. Beginning in a stage of barbarism and poverty, he had moved through the application of reason to his present level of material and spiritual knowledge. And with the further exertion of this reason he could continue to progress to heights as yet unimagined. Historical inquiry became a search for origins and evolutionary stages; analysis became an explanation of Western Europe's current superiority; prediction became an effort to sketch the legal and social outlines of that future age when wars would cease and men would enjoy the just fruits of their labors in tranquility. Even those like Herbert Spencer (1820 - 1903), who thought human reason was impotent before transcendent forces, did not question the fact of evolution. Indeed, Spencer felt that he had discovered an overarching principle that explained all evolution--in astronomy, as well as in biology, society, linguistics, and other disciplines. The principle was: "matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity."[22] And Spencer's detailed volumes amply illustrated this principle. The nineteenth century's belief in evolution received its profoundest support in 1859, when Charles Darwin published his Origin of the Species. There, available to every reader, was documented 'proof' of evolution in the biological sciences. To many it now seemed only a matter of time before similar 'proof' would be found for evolution in the social or moral sciences.

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[21] Quoted in Melvin Richter, "Tocqueville on Algeria," The Review of Politics, XXV, 3 (July, 1963), p. 388.

Economists

The man to document the evolution of India's economy most carefully was Sir Henry J. Sumner Maine (1822 – 1888). In his first major work, Ancient Law (1861), he attempted to trace the history of law and property, drawing heavily on Rome, but also using evidence from India, Scotland, Austria, Turkey, and Russia. In the mood of the times he wrote:

> We have the strongest reason for thinking that property once belonged not to individuals nor even to isolated families, but to larger societies composed on the patriarchal model...private property, in the shape in which we know it, was chiefly formed by the gradual disentanglement of the separate rights of individuals from the blended rights of the community.[23]

The same year he published Ancient Law, Sir Henry Maine sailed for Calcutta to take over the duties of Law Member in the Governor General's Council. In time he served as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. In India he pored through the sacred histories and literature in order to understand, if he could, the evolution of India's villages. In 1871 his Village Communities in the East and West appeared, containing passages such as the following:

> The Village-Community of India exhibits resemblances to the Teutonic Township which are much too strong and numerous to be accidental... It has the same double aspect of a group of families united by the assumption of common kinship, and of a company of persons exercising joint ownership over land.[24]

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[22] Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Sociology, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1897, vol. I, p. 394.

[23] Henry Sumner Maine, Ancient Law, Boston: Beacon Press, 1963, pp. 260-261.

[24] Ibid., p. 12.

Where the Teutonic Village-Community had moved quite far from Mark to Manor, the Indian Village-Community had evolved only slightly in the same direction.

Maine's view of the parallel emergence of village communities throughout the world, beginning with large, patriarchal families and evolving toward individual landholders, survived for some twenty years. In the end it was shattered by another India specialist, Baden H. Baden-Powell (1841 - 1901). In his book The Indian Village Community (1896), Baden-Powell stated:

> The numerous instances of village formation which have been collected from the Settlement Reports and similar authorities can hardly have failed to suggest the impossibility of disposing of 'the Indian Village Community' by referring the whole of the phenomena to some one theory or generalised view of the subject.[25]

Baden-Powell dealt with two major forms of village tenure (Maine discussed only the joint village), and showed how these two forms could originate in many different ways, including grants from the state, disruption of an old state, single adventures, or groups of colonists founding their own villages. After Baden-Powell, no scholar could seriously affirm Henry Maine's evolutionary position.

Evidence from India was incorporated into another line of economic analysis. The German economic theorist Karl Marx (1818 - 1883), drawing the dialectic from Hegel and the principle of materialism from Feuerbach, evolved the 'historical materialistic' proposition that class ownership of the means of production in any society ultimately 'determines' the nature of other institutions in that society. Religion, for example, is an implement whereby the ruling classes divert the attention and thereby maintain control over the classes they are exploiting.[26] In 1853 Marx rendered the following analysis of India's village communities:

> ...we must not forget that these idyllic village communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind

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[25] B. H. Baden-Powell, The Indian Village Community, New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press, 1957, p. 398.

[26] The German poet, Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876), recounted for his readers how hundreds of Hindu pilgrims in Puri, India, crushed themselves to death in religious ecstasy under the wheels of the Juggernaut (Jagannāth) chariot, so powerful was the ideological control over them. Information of this sort provided Marxists with additional 'proof' that their basic premises were correct.

> within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstition, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies.[27]

Following his own lines of analysis, Marx concluded that social change would come to India only through a restructuring of either the ownership or the means of production. Here he touched on England's relationship with India. England, though "actuated only by the vilest interests," was restructuring India's pattern of ownership and means of production. Unwittingly she was contributing to "the greatest, and, to speak the truth, the only social revolution ever heard of in Asia." Whatever her crimes, she was "the unconscious tool of history." In another article printed that same year, Marx predicted:

> The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, till in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Hindus themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether.[28]

Where Marx was enthusiastic about the brief revolutions in Prussia and France in 1848, revolutions he saw as heralding the downfall of bourgeoise society and the establishment of socialism, he had mixed feelings about the uprising of 1857 in India. Ultimately, he declared "John Bull...is responsible for the mischief hatched and the colossal dimensions it has been allowed to assume."[29] But he had no doubt that the uprising would fail; the social forces were not yet ripe for a successful revolution:

> ...the rebels at Delhi are very likely to succumb without any prolonged resistance. Yet, even then, it is only the prologue of a most terrible tragedy that will have to be enacted.[30]

The followers of Marx, Karl Kautsky, Georgi Plekanov, and Daniel De Leon, all looked to India as the most revolutionary of the colonial countries, since while Britain's terror became ever more intense, the ranks of India's industrial proletariat continued to swell. A violent clash was inevitable.

While the Marxist theorists were bracing themselves for an Indian revolution, another Western intellectual, the German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), was questioning two of Marx's basic assumptions: 1) that religion was a dependent variable, incapable of initiating social change; 2) that economic revolutions were 'inevitable' once the economic structure of a society had reached a certain stage. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904) Weber suggested that industrial capitalism developed in western Europe not for any 'inevitable' economic reasons, as Marx had suggested, but from an historically-unique juxtaposition of values, theological doctrines, and civic government combined with technological and monetary factors. Turning to India, Weber maintained that India, despite the presence of 'necessary' technological and monetary factors, could not spontaneously generate industrial capitalism. For all her variety of religious ethics and philosophies, she lacked key structural and attitudinal prerequisites.[31] If Weber's assumptions were true, the Marxists would have a long time to wait before India underwent an 'inevitable' class revolution.

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[27] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, On Colonialism, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d., p. 38.

[28] Ibid., p. 88.

[29] Ibid., p. 150.

[30] Ibid., p. 134.

After the Bolshevik successes in 1917, the Soviet government and the Comintern pointed to India as "...the citadel of world revolution in the East." Not only did India appear to be the Achilles heel of the British empire, India had also developed further technologically than all Asian nations but Japan and therefore was 'riper' for revolution. The 1920 Comintern debate on the 'Eastern question' argued whether the revolution should be 'from above' or 'from below'. Lenin maintained that India was on the eve of an 'agrarian revolution' and urged the Indian communists to merge forces with the 'bourgeoisie nationalists' of the Indian National Congress in order to overthrow the landed aristocracy and its British supporters. The Indian communist, M.N. Roy, challenged Lenin's premises, maintaining that India was no longer a feudal society and that joining the 'bourgeoisie nationalists' would be joining their own exploiters. Lenin prevailed, and Roy accepted the fact that in backward countries an alliance of communism with bourgeoisie national movements might be necessary.

The alliance between the communists and 'bourgeoisie nationalists', however, proved to be neither particularly happy nor successful. When the Comintern urged the Indian National Congress to use violent means against the British "without which the foreign domination based on violence cannot be ended," Gandhi refused, leaving the Comintern bitter over his 'betrayal.' The alliance crumbled; in 1931 Roy was arrested by the British and spent the next six years in prison.

Following India's independence in 1947, Marxist theoreticians have sometimes been baffled by India. On occasions they have spoken loudly with contradictory voices, and at times their statements on India have been more a reflection of external political events than of internal economic developments.

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[31] See Max Weber, *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, transl. by Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale, Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1958, p. 326 ff.

Anthropologists

The earliest descriptive anthropologists in India were frequently missionaries or travelers. For example, during the early 1800's the French missionary to South India, the Abbé J. A. Dubois, described Hindu temples, beliefs, and ceremonies, the burning of widows, the intricacies of marriage arrangements, and the rules of caste with an impressively neutral candor.[32] During this same period Bishop Reginald Heber of England journeyed through North India, recording his own somewhat less neutral observations of Hindu and Muslim beliefs and practices.[33]

The year 1861 was important in the development of anthropology, for it saw the publication of two works of major theoretical relevance. One was Johann J. Bachofen's *Das Mutterecht* ('The Mother Right') proposing that in the evolution of family systems matriarchy and matrilineal kinship had preceded patriarchy and patrilineal kinship. Bachofen's reasoning was straightforward enough: In the days of intra-tribal promiscuity, paternity was difficult to establish while maternity was always obvious. Hence, if property were to be inherited through any kinship line, it would have to be through the mother's. Bachofen found empirical support for his proposition in the missionaries' and travelers' reports of promiscuous, matrilineal tribes in remote parts of the world.

The other major anthropological work in 1861 was Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law* (see above). In his discussion of the 'infancy of jurisprudence', Maine stated:

> The Civil laws of States first make their appearance as the [established usages] of a patriarchal sovereign, and we can now see that these [established usages] are probably only a developed form of the irresponsible commands which, in a still earlier condition of the race, the head of each household may have addressed to his wives, his children, and his slaves.[34]

Maine's proposition that behind inheritance and law lay the patriarchal family system contradicted Bachofen's proposition of matriarchal origins. The dispute continued in European and American academic circles until evidence was overwhelming that *neither* form of kinship necessarily preceded the other. Nonetheless, India and the Hindu kinship system played an important part in the contoversy.

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[32] His narrative is available in English under the title *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, transl. by Henry K. Beauchamp, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 3rd ed., 1906.

[33] See Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India*, London: John Murray, 4th ed., 1829.

[34] *Ancient Law*, p. 161.

British civil servants gathered quantities of anthropological data in connection with taking the decennial census and preparing the *District Gazeteers*. Their works, often in multiple volumes, include: Herbert H. Riseley's *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891-1892), William Crooke's *Tribes and Castes of the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh* (1906), Edgar Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (1909), Robert V. Russell's *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (1916), and Reginald E. Enthoven's *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay* (1920-1922). While these men with their staffs were tramping the hills and jungles, recording with camera, caliper, and notebook the characteristics and practices of thousands of castes and tribes, other men were speculating as to the origins of the Indian caste system. The Abbé J. A. Dubois (1817) and Sir D. Ibbetson (1883) both suggested that the caste system was a creation of the brāhmaṇs—a device to keep themselves on top and others under their subjugation forever. J. C. Nesfield (1885) regarded occupation as the basis for the caste system. The Frenchman, E. Senart (1896), identified commensality (eating together) as a key factor in the caste system, and commensality, according to him, emerged from family worship and the family meal of the primitive clan. J. Dahlmann, a German (1899), tried to trace the roots of caste to an earlier guild system. The Frenchman C. Bouglé (1908) saw mutual 'repulsion' aiding the origins of the caste system, along with hierarchy and hereditary specialization. Sir H. H. Risley (1915), after having gathered thousands of cranial and nasal indexes, concluded:

> If we take a series of castes in Bengal, Bihar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, or Madras, and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top, and that with the coarsest at the bottom of the list, it will be found that this order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence.[35]

Unfortunately, Risley spoke too soon. Further measurements, especially in South India, destroyed his generalization and threw doubts on his suggestion that race and hypergamy (upward marriage by girls) could explain the caste system. G. Slater (1924) noted that caste was stronger in the South than in the North and suggested that caste arose in India *prior* to the invasions of the Aryans through parent-arranged marriages and craftsmen's desire to preserve trade secrets within their own kin circle. E. A. H. Blunt (1931) saw caste being generated by the peculiar strains of "a society of classes with a cross-division of guilds." A. M. Hocart (1938), a Frenchman, proposed that castes developed out of the offices different groups performed in the daily ritual of the royal court. And J. H. Hutton (1946) concluded that the Indian caste system is the product of complex geographical, social, political, economic, and religious factors buttressed by a belief in soul-stuff, mana, and magic. Together these factors form a combination "not elsewhere found in conjunction." In recent decades, speculations as to the origins of caste have fallen somewhat out of vogue, but the topic is by no means dead.[36]

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[35] Quoted in G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Class in India*, Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 3rd ed., 1957, pp. 123-124.

Three men have done studies in India that have had methodological or analytic implications for the broader field of anthropology. In 1906 William H. R. Rivers (1864 - 1922) published his ethnographic volume on the Todas, a polyandrous tribe in South India. Using kinship terminology as one means of understanding Toda social structure, he established a precedent for further anthropological field reports and kinship studies.

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1881 - 1955), a foremost student of Rivers, did research for two years in the Andamans, a cluster of islands administered from India and located in the Bay of Bengal. The first few chapters of Radcliffe-Brown's The Andaman Islanders (1922) read much like any other standard ethnography: 'The Social Organisation,' 'Ceremonial Customs,' 'Religious and Magical Beliefs,' etc. But in chapters five and six, Radcliffe-Brown begins to deal with the 'meanings' and 'functions' of these myths and rites. He exhibits what part they play in the total life of the islanders. This form of analysis, defined and justified in later essays, came to be known as the 'functional' approach or simply 'functionalism,' a major perspective in both anthropology and sociology.

Of all the Western anthropologists to study India, none has done more thorough work than the Englishman, Verrier Elwin (1902 - 1964). After coming to India initially as a member of Christa Seva Sangha, he retired into lay life, married a Gond tribal girl, lived nearly twenty years among the tribals in Orissa, Assam, and NEFA, and eventually became an Indian citizen. He left a rich legacy of ethnographies and collections of folk tales, songs, myths, and tribal art; his multi-faceted approach to tribal life provided a depth of insight rarely equalled in anthropology.

The dual concepts 'sanskritization' and 'westernization' developed by the Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas (1952), a former student of Radcliffe-Brown, have been used extensively by Western anthropologists doing research in India. They have taken their place alongside Redfield's and Singer's concepts of Great and Little traditions in the current anthropological analyses of India. Western anthropologists have tended to abandon the study of isolated castes or villages in preference for studying the intricate relationships within and between families, castes, villages, and other social units.

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[36] See Irawati Karve, Hindu Society--An Interpretation, Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1961.

Linguistics and Philology

The fields of Economics and Anthropology were enriched, alhough not initiated or reoriented, by information coming from India. The field of Liguistics and Philology, however, owes its existence to the Sanskrit language and to the relationships scholars were able to see between Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages.

Prior to 1816 a number of scholars like Sir William Jones and Nathaniel Halhed (see above) had commented on similarities between Sanskrit words and those of Persian, Arabic, Latin, and Greek. In 1816 a Bavarian, Franz Bopp (1791-1867), who had studied Sanskrit in Paris published his Uber das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in which he traced the grammatical and especialy verb forms of Sanskrit, Persian, Latin, and German to a common origin. Durig the next two decades, Bopp expanded his analysis to include other forms of gammar besides the verb and additional languages including Zend, Lithuanian, and Old Slavic. Bopp was primarily interested in morphology--that branch of linguistic study that deals with inflections and derivational forms. For his purposes, Sanskit was a wonderfully transparent model, since it has a rich vocabulary made up of derivations from a small list of roots and suffixes. As professor of Sanskrit in Berlin from 1821 on, Franz Bopp taught a generation of Indic scholars, including Max Müller, Edward Salisbury, and William Whitney. They, in turn, transmitted his interest in linguistics to their students.

Another pioneer in linguistics was August Schleicher (1821-1868) who traced linguistic relationships much as a botanist would classify a plant. He reasoned that similar characteristics in two languages indicated a period of mutual development; therefore, by working backwards from the present until it became impossible to branch or subdivide any further, one would have arrived at the original language. He realized that the specification of this first language could not be empirically supported but could only be plausibly demonstrated through genealogical charts. One flaw in this botanical approach is that, unlike the branches of a plant, linguistic branches such as English and French continue to influence one another. Nonetheless, there are few alternatives to this method. Typically a scholar proceeds as if each language, once it has separated, ceases to influence or be influenced by its sister languages. Only later can he introduce corrections based on current evidence.

August Fick (1833-1916) endowed Schleicher's morphological 'family tree' with vocabulary in his Comparative Dictionary of Indo-European Languages (1868). Fick divided Indo-European languages into two large groups: Indo-Iranian and Common European (subdividing European by region). For a word to go into the reconstruction of Indo-European, it had to occur on all levels. For example, a word found in Greek and Latin only would be considered merely a southern European addition to the original language. This same technique has been used by linguists to study other language groups. Sapir (1884-1939) reconstructed Athabaskan; Leonard Bloomfield (1887-1949) reconstructed proto-Algonquin; and Isadore Dyen has applied the same comparative method to the Malayo-Polynesian languages.

In addition to the existence of Sanskrit, the field of linguistics is indebted to India for the organization of certain linguistic principles. These principles are most succinctly presented in the fourth century B.C. Sanskrit grammar by Panini. Because of the brāhmaṇic belief that the Vedas had to be transmitted correctly word-for-word, rigorous attention used to be paid to prevent errors from creeping into the transmission. Even with this care, there was a fear that in time Sanskrit would become corrupt and disappear, thereby rendering useless the chanting of the Vedas. Panini's grammar was an attempt to prevent this by formulating and codifying the phonetic and structural characteristics of the old language. It presupposed the work of earlier grammarians, containing over 4,000 grammatical rules in its thirty pages. A brilliant piece of analysis and categorization, it indicates how Sanskrit's written language is made up of phonetic units, each one conveying only one pronunciation and duration. It arranges the alphabet according to semi-vowels and vowels, followed by gutterals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials (quite different from our English alphabet with its vowels and consonants arranged in an arbitrary 'alphabetical order'). Because Sanskrit is a phonetically descriptive rendering of the spoken language, the orthography is consistent with pronunciation, i.e., certain syllables change in a consistent fashion when preceded by others, the phenomenon that so interested Schleicher.

The linguists have so completely assimilated Sanskrit and Pali into their discipline that, superficially, one hardly suspects them of being practitioners of an Eastern-based art. According to Bloomfield:

> The Indian grammar presented to European eyes, for the first time, a complete and accurate description of a language, based not upon theory, but upon observation... The Hindu grammar of Sanskrit was never quite forgotten; while many pupils used its results without knowing of its existence, the master, who knew the antecedents of their science, appreciated its value.[37]

A compilation that equals in depth of detail and thoroughness the various enumerations of tribes and castes of the early twentieth century is Sir George A. Grierson's eleven-volume *Linguistic Survey of India* (1903-1928). Although based on informant-provided translations of texts into designated dialects rather than on direct field work, it remains the most complete factual statement of South Asian languages available, and it has served as a point of departure for contemporary linguistic studies in India.

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[37] Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1933, p. 15.

Racial Theorists

The discoveries of linguistic ties between much of the ancient world provided tantalizing subject matter for those interested in the evolution of human races. Making the assumption that an original single race of people (the 'Aryans') spoke the earliest Aryan language, they concluded that this same race of people conquered the barbarian world and established the civilizations of Greece, Rome, India, and western Europe. A Frenchman, Count Arthur de Gobineau, in his Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines (1853), still held to the traditional Christian view that ultimately the ancestry of all mankind could be traced to Adam. He maintained, nonetheless, that by the nineteenth century, genuine, hereditary inequalities had emerged among the races. J. C. Nott and G. R. Gliddon in Indigeneous Races of the Earth (1857) went even further and suggested that the different races represented different species of the genus homo. The measurement of brain size and nasal index added a degree of exactness to discussions of racial difference. Differences in brain size implied differences in sensory responses, intellectual capacity, and ultimately morality and ethical conduct. R. Knox, in his Races of Men (1862) ranked the races of mankind according to their degree of civilization—from the white races (particularly the Saxons of northern Europe) on the top to the Negroes on the bottom, not too far from the chimpanzees.

These racial theories, resting on hazardous inferences from the developing discipline of linguistics, produced various responses. To British administrators who felt they had failed in their efforts to train a class of Indians "English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect," these racial theories provided an explanation for the 'betrayal' of 1857.[38] Their 'mistake' came in their having overlooked the 'fundamental inequalities' of different races. James Fitzjames Stephen, who served from 1869-1872 on the Viceroy's Council in India, pointed out that the Indian people were "ignorant to the last degree" and "steeped in idolatrous superstition." It was pointless to try, out of 'sentimentality', to prepare India for representative government. The British in India should see to it simply that India was well administered according to the highest principles of European civilization. In the past they had manifested "the superiority of the conquering race," and they should in the future continue their "open, uncompromising assertion of superiority."[39] The theory of differing racial capacities lent 'scientific' justification to imperial ideology.

To more research-minded men, the racial theories propounded by Gobineau and

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38. The year in which units of Indian troops in North India mutineed against their British officers and, joined by dissident princes and others, effectively controlled cities like Delhi, Kanpur, and Lucknow for several months before being eventually defeated by the British army.

39. For a discussion of Stephen's writings, see Tomas R. Metcalfe, The Aftermath of Revolt, 1857-1870, Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1964, pp. 314-321.

others suggested hypotheses. If different races responded differently to sensory stimuli, this should be empirically verifiable. In 1898 the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition in the Melanesian Torres Straits tested the relationship between race and sensory responses by comparing islanders' reactions to such stimuli as pin pricks and colors with the reactions of Cambridge university students. The Expedition found no significant differences. Later researchers tried to test relationships between race and 'intelligence' and race and 'personality,' but they soon faced nearly insoluble problems of how to separate genetic capacities from environmental training, and their findings were generally inconclusive.[40] In light of these studies, most physical anthropologists concluded that theories of racial superiority were factually groundless. Furthermore, as skulls from the ancient sites were measured, it became clear that no one-to-one correlation had existed between any one racial type and the speakers of a particular language. In 1888 Max Müller wrote:

> To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar.[41]

However, an idea, once planted in fertile soil, need not die just because it is shown to be false. There were many in Europe who continued to nourish thoughts of 'Aryan' racial superiority; some even joined the Gobineau Club, founded in 1894. One of Gobineau's followers, Houston Chamberlain, in his 1899 *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* proposed that the German nation with its descendants of Teutons, Celts, and Slavs was heir to the Aryan legacy. In 1920 Adolf Hitler chose the swastika, a symbol already in use by the Sudetenland German National Socialist Workers' Party, for his own Nazi party. Setting it in a white circle on a red background, he used it as a symbol for his mixture of Aryanism[42] and German tribalism. In *Mein Kampf* (1932), Hitler stated his fundamental propositions concerning the 'Aryan' race:

> Everything that today we admire on this earth--science and art, technique and inventions--is only the creative product of a few peoples and perhaps originally of *one* race. On them now depends also the existence of this entire culture. If they perish, then the beauty of this earth sinks into the grave with them.

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[40] For a survey of some of the findings and their varying interpretations, see George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, New York: Harper and Row, 3rd ed., 1965, pp. 41-48.

[41] Quoted in Ruth Benedict, *Race: Science and Politics*, New York: Viking Press, 1959 (First ed. 1940), p. 12.

[42] The swastika appears in Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu art, as it does in the art of many other groups such as the American Indians.

> The blood-mixing . . . is the sole cause of the dying-off of old cultures.[43]

By the autumn of 1935, Hitler had enacted his Nurenberg Laws prohibiting marriage between Germans and the 'non-Aryan' Jews and depriving Jews of the rights of citizenship. By 1936 he had begun the expropriation of Jewish property without recompense. In 1945, when this madness had run its course, six million Jews had been exterminated.

Historians of Civilization

For both amateur and professional Western historians, India provided a mine of material awaiting organization and publication. One of the earliest Britishers to take advantage of this was Robert Orme, the first volume of whose A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745 appeared in 1763, more than a decade before Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784). In 1810 Mark Wilks, a lieutenant colonel in the Madras army, published the first of his three-volume Historical Sketches of the South of India in an Attempt to Trace the History of Mysoor. Seven years later (1817) appeared James Mills' monumental ten-volume History of British India, providing the utilitarian interpretations on which much of Britain's policy toward India was based for the next three decades. J. Grant Duff published his two-volume History of the Mahrattas in 1826, drawing on his experience as British political agent in Maratha territory. In 1829 appeared James Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan that recorded the legends of Rajput chivalry while presenting a view of Muslim policy much different from that of the Muslim court historians.

The list of historical works could easily be extended. However, there is a particular kind of historian on whom India had a different type of influence: the historians of civilization, examiners of civilizations in their totality who seek recurrent patterns or meanings in their efforts to compare major segments of humanity.

One of the earliest of these was Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770- 1831). In his The Philosophy of the State and of History (1887) Hegel presents a view of world history as a single phenomenon. All historical change, according to Hegel, is caused by the movement of thought through the integration of a thesis with an antithesis that is integrated into a new synthesis, and so forth. Thus man's view of Reality develops through the continual correction of earlier errors that arise from seeing a part of the whole as if it were the whole. For Hegel, the starting point for this process in history is Pure Being, a state of mere existence with no qualities attached. The culmination point is the Absolute Idea, in which pure thought thinks about pure thought. The philosophy of history deals with the development of Spirit from Matter--or of Freedom from Matter (since Freedom is the essence of Spirit)--from the state of Pure Being to the state of the Absolute Idea.

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[43] Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1940. Quoted in George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, op. cit., p. 211.

According to Hegel, there have been three main phases in this development: 1) the Oriental phase, beginning with ancient China and including India, 2) the intermediate Greek and Roman phase, and 3) the highest German phase. The impetus for advancement from one stage to another is reason. Disciplined reason delivers man from the 'wild arbitrariness' of an unharnessed Nature and directs him toward universal Truths. Reason in turn is related to self-consciousness. And it is here that Hegel finds an explanation for India's imprisonment in Nature. The Hindu spirit is a 'dreaming spirit,' in which the individual is unconscious of differences between himself, his environment, and God.

> ... to the Hindu, everything is God,--sun, moon, stars, the Ganges, the Indus, beasts, flowers. Finite objects, thus divinized, lose, of course, their fixed and constant character, and all understanding of them vanishes....[44]

In short, the Hindu is incapable of self-consciousness. As evidence for India's lack of self-consciousness, Hegel points out that despite India's ancient religious texts and codes, "history itself is not found." It was inevitable that India would be overrun by a nation such as Britain that had progressed further toward the Absolute Idea.

Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) in his Decline of the West (1918) describes his view of the life history of cultures:

> A culture is born in the moment when a great soul awakens out of the proto-spirituality of ever childish humanity, detaches itself, and becomes a form from the formless, a bounded and mortal thing from the boundless and enduring... It blooms... It dies when this soul has actualized the full sum of its possibilities in the shape of peoples, languages, dogmas, arts, states, sciences, and reverts into the proto-soul ... the Culture suddenly hardens... its (creative) force breaks down, and it becomes Civilization.[45]

Civilization, characterized by urbanism, imperialism, class struggle, masses, and 'Caesarism', may last for years--perhaps even centuries. But in time it will experience like a death shudder a 'spell of religiosity' that marks the end of its life-course. Then that civilization will die. Spengler mentioned eight cultures, each one containing its own 'prime symbol'. This symbol is manifested in the culture's philosophy, music, mathematics, science, religion, and art. The symbol for Greco-Roman culture is the 'sensuously present individual body'; for Western culture it is 'pure and limitless space', for Egypt the 'stone', and for Arabia 'cavernous, eternal, vaulted space'. Spengler's symbol for India is a-historic 'religiosity'. According to Spengler, India has no clock, no calendar, no recorded history. She has no organic series of texts that have developed chronologically, only a mass of authorless scriptures in which one searches futilely for "...intellectual individualism, intellectual evolution, intellectual epochs..." Events are forgotten; the significance of moments of historical tension are lost on a people whose philosophy ties them to Brahman, the Absolute Being, and nirvana, eternal timeless fusion with Brahman. Hindus reflect their 'religiosity' in their careless submission to the moment and its incidents, their lack of organizing power, their absence of sense of duty to nation, their economic willingness to live from day to day, their music, their art, their caste system, their mathematics. According to Spengler, "Western history was willed and Indian history happened."[46]

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[44] Quoted in George S. Morris, Hegel's Philosophy of the State and of History, Chicago: S.C. Griggs, 1887, p. 148.

[45] Quoted in Pitrim A. Sorokin, Sociological Theories of Today, New York: Harper and Row, 1966, p. 188.

A third historian of civilization is Arnold J. Toynbee. Toynbee's unit of analysis is a 'civilization' that spans national states or other political communities. He identifies twenty-one full-blown civilizations (as well as four 'arrested' ones and five 'abortive' ones). Like Spengler, Toynbee sees civilizations following a life cycle of birth, growth, maturity, and death. There are two necessary conditions for the emergence of any civilization: an environment in which survival is neither too difficult nor too easy, and the presence of a Creative Minority. The environment must pose a series of challenges to which the Creative Minority supplies a series of successful responses. The Creative Minority is followed willingly by the majority of Internal Proletariat (in their own society) and External Proletariat (among their neighbors). A growing civilization gradually realizes its potentials, for example, scientifically mechanistic potentials in the West; religious potentials in India. A civilization begins to die when its Creative Minority fails to meet a challenge, perhaps through smugness, perhaps through fatigue or lassitude. A Time of Troubles ensues. Now, to maintain its control over an increasingly dissatisfied Internal and External Proletariat, the Minority resorts to a 'universal state'. In response the Internal Proletariat often creates a 'universal church' as a form of psychic escape from the oppression of the Minority; while the External Proletariat begins to attack from without. Racked by inner schisms and outer invasions, and suffering the irreversible vulgarization of its morals, arts, and institutions, the civilization is doomed. It may linger even for centuries in a state of 'petrified life in death', but die it eventually must. The only exception Toynbee allows is the

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46. Oswald Spengler, The Decline of the West, transl. by Charles F. Atkinson, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926, vol. I, p. 133.

chance that a 'Transfigured Savior' might emerge during the last phases of the civilization to transfer that civilization's values.

Toynbee derives his analytic scheme from the history of Greco-Roman civilization. As such, his stages and his configurations fit best when applied to the original model. When transferring his scheme to India, he must occasionally strain it to fit. He sees two civilizations emerging on the Indian subcontinent: the Indic (dating from approximately 1500 B.C. to 700 A.D.) and the Hindu (from before 800 A.D. to the present). The Indic civilization arose and flourished at the time of the Vedas, experienced its Time of Troubles when Buddhism and Jainism appeared and Alexander the Great attacked, underwent its 'universal state' in the *Maurya* and Gupta Empires, and saw the emergence of Hinduism as the 'universal religion'. The Hindu civilization arose from the challenge of the disintegrating Indic civilization and flourished at the time of the philosopher Śaṁkara (c. 800 A.D.). It experienced its Time of Troubles during the Islamic Invasions, underwent its 'universal state' during the *Mughul* period and under the British, and saw the emergence of syncretist 'universal religions' such as Kabirism, Sikhism, and the Brahmo Samaj. Toynbee's application of the term 'universal state' (of the recently Creative Minority) to the *Mughul* and British periods reflects how far he sometimes has to stretch his categories. A more telling case could be made for calling these times 'conquest by outside civilizations', a category Toynbee's scheme does not provide.

Toynbee's thinking changed between 1939, when his first volumes appeared, and 1961, when he issued his twelfth volume, in which he suggested there might be three different life-histories of civilization rather than just one. The Christian emphasis of his early writings had disappeared, influenced at least in part by his reading of Sir Charles N. Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism: an Historical Sketch* (1921), that gave him a 'panorama' within which to fit non-Christian views. Within his new perspective, each religion has something special to give to the world. And despite the fact that civilizations may rise and fall, religion as such may progress in a steady, cumulative upward fashion.

Hegel, Spengler, and Toynbee all developed their analytic frameworks in the West, using either classical Greek and Roman civilization or contemporary Western civilization as their models. India was a civilization onto which they imposed their already-determined frameworks. Nonetheless, the fact that knowledge of India 'was there' and had to be accounted for affected Western intellectuals, especially as they tried to compare themselves and their civilization with the civilizations of other people and centuries.

Scholars of Comparative Religion

Although such ancient texts as the Vedas, the Homeric epics, and the Old Testament describe the beliefs and rites of other peoples, it was not until the nineteenth century that Comparative Religion emerged as a systematic discipline. When it appeared, its roots drew nourishment from India's religions and its form was patterned by Franz Bopp's comparative method of linguistics and philology.

The German Franz Felix Adalbert Kuhn (1812-1881) was one of the first to apply the techniques of comparative philology to the field of mythology. By analyzing the names of the Indo-European gods, he tried to explain etymologically certain elements in myth as well as to develop a theory of the origin of religion. In 1845 he published his major work on the earliest history of the Indo-Germanic people in which, still using the method of comparative linguistics, he sought to establish which social and religious institutions prevailed among the earliest speakers of the Indo-European languages. Although his findings are more readily classified under comparative mythology than comparative religion, his painstaking methods established him as a pioneer in the field.

The modern study of comparative religion began with F. Max Müller (1823-1900). In his Essay on Comparative Mythology (1856) he defined myth as a 'disease of language.' Since mythology arises neither from the world that is perceived nor from the senses of the perceiver, it must arise from some other phenomenon, and one of the closest phenomena to mythology is language. In 1869 Max Müller described the tasks he saw falling to the 'Science of Religion'. He felt that this new science should use the same principles as the comparative analysis of languages to:

> ... collect all the evidence of the early history of religious thought that is still accessible in the sacred books of the world, or in the mythology, customs, and even in the languages of various races... [undertake] a genealogical classification of all the materials that have hitherto been collected, and... [try] to find out how the roots of the various religions, the radical concepts which form their foundation, and, before all, the concept of the infinite, could have been developed...[47]

Just as comparative linguistics freed European scholars from the notion that all languages were corruptions of Hebrew, so comparative religion could free them from the notion that all religions were corruptions of Judaism. In his own lifetime, Max Müller did much to further the 'Science of Religion', Most notable was his work as editor of the Sacred Books of the East series. In his Introdiction to the Science of Religion (1873) and the series of Hibbert Lectures he initiated in 1878 he suggested ways in which religion developed, using Indian religion for illustration. The Gifford Lectures, founded in 1888, provided him a further occasion for developing his ideas on Natural Religion (1889) wherein he proposed tha religion is derived from the sensation of infinity awakened in man by the unknowns of surrounding nature, Physical Religion (1891) in which he suggested that language is the agent that transforms natural forces into personal agents, Anthropological Religion (1892), and Theosophy, or Psychological Religion (1893). By the time of his death (1900), journals specializing in the history of religion had been startd, university chairs had been established in France, England, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Belgium, and the United States, and international congresses had been held.

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[47] F. Max Müller, Chips from a German Workshop, New York: Charles Scribner, 1869, vol. I, p. xix.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, some pioneering empirical works in comparative religion appeared. For example, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor's (1832-1917) Primitive Culture (1871) proposed that animism ("the belief in souls, in a future state, in controlling deities and subordinate spirits") is a continuous conception "from the philosophy of the savage thinker to that of the modern professor of theology." As evidence for the existence of animism in India, he presented the Sanskrit terms Ātman (soul) and prāṇa (breath), and the Hindu custom of offering a black cow to brāhmaṇs to secure passage of one's soul across the river of death. Sir James George Frazer (1854-1941), in his The Golden Bugh: A Study in Magic and Religion (1890), found numerous parallels in men's beliefs and practices throughout the world. He drew upon India for illustrations of such widespread beliefs, for example, as incarnate human gods (maharajas believed to be Kṛṣṇa), the seclusion of girls at puberty (especially in Bengal and Malabar), and the view that an external soul controls a man's life (as in the Hindu tale of a magician whose survival depended on the continued existence of a small green parrot).

In 1898 two French sociologists, Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, published an Essai sur la Nature et la Fonction du Sacrifice, in which they compared the sacrifice in ancient India with that of the Hebrews. Noting the wide diversity of forms sacrifice takes (propitiation, thanksgiving, consecrating vows, etc.) as well as the variety of objects sacrificed (soma, cattle, etc.), they nonetheless concluded that all sacrifices share an underlying common process: communicating between the sacred and profane worlds through the mediation of something destroyed during the ceremony. And since, ultimately, the sacred world is but a projection of society (a view expanded in 1912 by the French sociologist, Emile Durkheim, in his The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life), Hubert and Mauss proposed that the sacrificer's self denial contributes to society's ideal existence while at the same time investing individuals' vows, oaths, and marriages with the authority of society, and redressing any equilibriums that might have been upset.[48] Although Hubert and

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[48] Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function, transl. by W. D. Halls, Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1964.

Mauss confined their analysis to the ancient Hebrews and Indians, they suggested their conclusions could be applied to religions and sacrifices generally.

Among the psychological interpretations of religion, perhaps the best known is that of Carl G. Jung. His split from the Freudian school in 1912 and establishment of analytical psychology were due in part to his interest in all forms of 'occultism' and oriental religions. Although his most important writings in the field were devoted to Tibet and China, he was affected by his travels in India in 1938. His work contributed to the field of comparative religion primarily because of his stress on racial heritage as revealed in myth, artistic representations of mythological thought, and his views of religion and myth as manifestations of structures of the psyche.

For scholars of comparative religion, a knowledge of Sanskrit or at least of Indian religions became a virtual prerequisite. Cornelius P. Tiele (1830-1902), who first occupied the chair of religion at Leiden in 1877, taught himself Sanskrit. His successor, W. Brede Kristensen, was well-versed in Sanskrit as well as other oriental languages. Rudolph Otto (1869-1937) traveled through India, China, and Japan in 1910-11 and drew upon his observations for his Das Heilige ('The Idea of the Holy') as well as his Mysticism East and West. Joachim Wach (1898-1955) studied Indian and other oriental religions at Leipzig. Mircea Eliade (1907-) worked with Surendranath Dasgupta at the University of Calcutta and spent six months in an āśram (religious retreat) in Rishikesh. Eliade drew extensively from his Indian materials to conclude that "almost all the religious attitudes man has, he has had from the most primitive times". And he illustrates his proposition that the "dialectic of hierophanies tends endlessly to reduce the spheres that are profane and eventually to abolish them" by a selection from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad relating psychological and ritual activities such as continence and sacrificial consecration, laughter and canticles, mortification and offerings to priests.[49]

Christian Theologians

Christian missionaries came to India to preach the gospel to unbelievers and to baptize and minister to those who confessed their faith in Christ. Few intended to change their own beliefs or religious practices in the process. Yet certain features of Indian society posed problems never met with by missionaries. And in their efforts to come to terms with these features the missionaries sometimes introduced subtle changes into their own faith.

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[49] Mircea Eliade, Patterns in Comparative Religion, Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1963, pp. 459-460.

India contained all grades of religious teachers and inspired persons. But the only ones who commanded universal respect were brāhmaṇs learned in the Vedas and observing the rules of ritual purity. Roberto de Nobili, an early Jesuit missionary, soon concluded that his black cassocks, leather shoes, and impoverished life impeded, rather than aided, the spread of the gospel, for they identified him as a 'Parangi' (a beef-eating, outcaste, foreigner). Aware that Francis Xavier, on his second trip to Japan had abandoned his cassock for the silk clothes of a Japanese sage, and that Matteo Ricci had preached in China dressed first in the ash-colored robes of a Buddhist bonze and later in the plum-colored silk and black hat of a mandarin, Roberto de Nobili requested and received permission to live as a sannyāsin. He had his hair shaved, wore wooden sandals and red-ochre cloths, marked a sandal-paste rectangle on his forehead, lived in the brāhmaṇ section of Madurai, practiced ritual bathings, and adopted a strict vegetarian diet prepared by a brāhmaṇ cook. He taught that the Bible was 'that law which is said to have been lost' according to Hindu tradition. De Nobili felt that if Christianity could be shown as the final religion based on the Vedas, it would appeal to orthodox Hindus. He did not require converts to abandon their tufts of hair, their ablutions or sacred threads, or to give up their caste-avoidance practices (a position endorsed by Pope Gregory XV's Apostolic Constitution *Romanae Sedis Antistites* in 1623). He felt that the principle of adaptation of local customs had been well established by Christian missionaries to the European pagans; it could be applied to India as well. In time, caste congregations emerged in India, congregations that would not worship together because of caste differences and that sometimes would not allow themselves to be ministered to by the same priests.

Father de Nobili was unusual in how far he adapted Christianity to Hindu concepts and traditions. But other missionaries also found themselves forced to decide what Christian practices could be abandoned as accidental and what had to be retained as fundamental. In 1847 in the same city of Madurai, the American Congregational missionaries, seeing how caste persisted in their congregations and boarding schools, unanimously voted that a convert could not receive the sacraments until he had 'given up caste,' and specified that:

> ... the giving up of caste implies at least the readiness to eat under proper circumstances with any Christian of any caste, and to treat them in respect to hospitality and other acts of kindness as if there had never been any distinction of caste.[50]

When the mission fortified its resolution by instituting 'love feasts', hiring untouchable cooks for the boarding-school kitchens and allowing untouchables to attend classes, a large portion of upper-caste Christians reverted to Hinduism.

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[50] J. S. Chandler, *Seventy-five Years in the Madura Mission*, Madras: W. Mumford for the American Madura Mission, 1912 (?), p. 42.

At different times and places, most of the missions in India faced the same problem of caste in their congregations, and most of them decided as the Madurai Congregational Mission had. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the pattern of conversion in India was established. With a few exceptions, Christian congregations consisted primarily of low-castes and tribals (e.g., the Nagas), those to whom Hinduism offered relatively little comfort or whose ad hoc and animistic beliefs lacked the wherewithal to resist evangelizing. To the middle- and high-caste Hindus Christianity had little appeal. The issue of what to do with caste in the churches had been settled in a draw; each side could consider itself the victor. Within the church, castes had to eat together and study together. Those who objected (and this meant the majority of Hindus) did not join the church. No less a figure than the Abbé Dubois in the nineteenth century recognized the implications. In his Letters on the State of Christianity in India he said that intellectual Hinduism and concern over pollution would make it impossible to bring the Hindus as a nation to Christianity; "...the time of conversion has passed away, and under existing circumstances there remains no human possibility of bringing it back."[51]

There have been scattered attempts in India to indigenize Christianity in those practices deemed accidental. At times evangelists in India have donned the orange robe of the sannyāsin or sadhu, Christian leaders have held retreats in ashrams, and Indian painters like Frank Wesley have portrayed Biblical incidents in an Indian setting. Frequently these attempts have been made or encouraged by Westerners who, like de Nobili, felt that the more familiar the setting, the greater the emphasis on the message. But by and large the church in India has remained an imitation of the European church in architecture, vestments, rituals, music, forms of worship, and religious symbolism. One concern among Indian Christians is the possibility of their being reabsorbed into Hinduism, just as Buddhism was and Jainism and Sikhism threatened to be. The Hindu tolerance for different beliefs may benefit the evangelist, but it poses a threat to the church's survival. By using Western architecture, symbols, etc., the Indian church has sometimes self-consciously stressed its differences from the larger Hindu environment.

From the earliest days, missionaries have put into writing their conviction that Hinduism is false while Christianity is true. Many of their tracts contained distortions, misrepresentations, selections of the worst Hindu practices to compare with the noblest Christian aspirations, and so on. However, from time to time serious efforts have been made by Christian writers to compare Hinduism and Christianity. After all, it is unlikely that a religion could have flourished so many centuries as

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[51] Abbé J. A. Dubois, op. cit., p. xxv.

Hinduism has if it were totally debased. Perhaps the best-known effort in this regard is Indian Thought and Its Development (1936) by Albert Schweitzer, who first became interested in Eastern thought while reading Schopenhauer, and who was especially impressed by the doctrine of ahimsa (non-injury to any living being). In this work Schweitzer dealt at some length with Buddhism (in India, Tibet, China, and Japan), Jainism, and the Upaniṣads, Sāṅkhya philosophy, the Laws of Manu, and bhakti (devotionalism), contrasting them with each other yet identifying basic similarities underlying them all. Schweitzer concluded that, unlike Christianity that is world- and life-affirming, Indian thought is world- and life-negating. This in itself is void of ethics. Furthermore, the doctrine of ahimsa that appealed so much to him owed its origin, said Schweitzer, "not to a feeling of pity, but to the idea of keeping pure from the world...."[52] Schweitzer's conclusions were challenged by a number of Hindu philosophers. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, for one, maintained that the distinction could not be upheld that Hindu thought was world- and life-negating whereas Christian thought was world- and life-affirming. Christ's teachings regarding the second coming could scarcely be more 'life-negating', whereas the Hindu householder stage in life, the doctrines of karma and rebirth, and Buddhist sympathy for the suffering of all life could hardly be more 'life-affirming'.[53] In short, both religions included both affirmation and negation. According to Radhakrishnan:

> The contrast to my mind is not so much between Hinduism and Christianity as between religion and self-sufficient humanism. While religion is taken more seriously in the East, humanism is the predominant feature of Western life.[54]

Schweitzer's writings are on considerably more scholarly plane than the anti-Hindu pamphlets of the early missionaries. Nonetheless, they represent a similar process: the effort of a Westerner to show that, despite the obvious longevity and spiritual qualities of Hinduism, Christianity is 'superior' to Hinduism.

Another realm in which India has affected Christian theologians has been in the ecumenical movement. The Protestant churches in India pioneered in this regard, inasmuch as by the beginning of the twentieth century, various denominations in India were exploring the possibility of mergers. On September 27, 1947 one million South Indian Protestants, formerly Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, joined to form the united church of South India, establishing a new pattern for combining episcopal and non-episcopal churches. Since then the united church of North India has worked for decades in the Punjab and elsewhere, and interdenominational cooperation continues on an all-India basis in the National Christian Council.

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[52] Albert Schweitzer, Indian Thought and Its Development, Boston: Beacon Press (paperback), 1957, p. viii.

[53] S. Radhakrishnan, Eastern Religions and Western Thought, New York: Oxford University Press (Galaxy Book), 1959, pp. 64 ff.

[54] Ibid., p. 75.

Why have the Indian churches pioneered in ecumenicity? Has some of the Hindu tolerance for different beliefs rubbed off on the Christians? Has the Christians' minority status encouraged their banding together out of self-interest? Have Western churchmen been more willing to condone ecumenicity abroad than at home by using some double standard of religious correctness? Perhaps all of these--plus other factors--played a part. Whatever the reasons might have been for the mergers, their influences on the West have been apparent. A number of leading figures in the Western ecumenical movement (such as Bishop J. E. L. Newbigin, author of *The Reunion of the Church*, and Bishop S. C. Neill, author of *Towards Christian Union 1937-52*) served their apprenticeship on committees working toward church merger in India. Through them, and others like them, both the practical and the spiritual lessons learned in India are being transmitted to other church leaders in the West.

THE INQUIRERS, THE ADAPTERS, AND THE FOLLOWERS

Writers and Philosophers: Germany

It is not surprising that the Germans were quick to adapt the wisdom of India. In the 13th century Meister Eckhart and the 'Rhineland Mystics' had introduced a stream of emotionalism and pietism into German thought. Gottfried W. Leibniz in the 17th century and Immanuel Kant in the 18th had rejected the empiricist notion of the mind as the passive register of outward events and had emphasized the spontaneous synthesizing powers of the mind. Kant, in turn, had set the stage for Hegel's assertion that the real is rational and the rational is real. Quite on their own, German philosophers were dealing with the unreality of separateness, the unity of all being, and the acquisition of truth through insight. No wonder the Brahman-Ātman formula of the Upaniṣads, the devotionalism of the Bhagavad Gītā, and the search for a mental state in Buddhism found congenial soil in Germany!

Johann G. Herder (1744-1803) was one of the first German Romantics to make his countrymen aware of the rich variety of human cultures--including Indian. Drawing on the translated Hitopadeśa maxims, the play Śakuntala, the poems of Bhartṛhari, and Charles Wilkins' Bhagavad Gītā, Herder saw India as the womb of civilization, surpassing even Greece in antiquity and still bearing the innocence that stems from oneness with nature. In 1785 he wrote:

> ... the brahmins have formed their people to such a degree of gentleness, courtesy, temperance, and chastity, or at least have so confirmed them in these virtues, that Europeans frequently appear on comparison with them, as beastly, drunken, or mad.[55]

The view of India as an unspoiled land and people fit well into Herder's concepts of the evolution of poetry, man, and man's self-expression, concepts that played an important part in the 'Sturm und Drang' revival he initiated in German literature that turned for inspiration to unspoiled native folk-songs.

Herder noticeably influenced the younger German, Johann W. von Goethe (1749-1832). Kālidāsa's play Śakuntala was translated into German in 1791 and Goethe found it irresistible. In his epigram on the drama he wrote:

> Wouldst thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline,
> And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed,
> Wouldst thou the earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine?
> I name thee, O Sakontala! and all at once is said.[56]

Goethe modeled his prologue to "Faust" after the prologue in classical Sanskrit drama, with a dialogue between the stage-manager and several of the actors including the fool. And at one time Goethe even considered adapting Śakuntala for the German stage. The poet Johann C.F. von Schiller, a contemporary of Goethe's, was inspired by Kālidāsa's poem, Meghadūta ('Cloud Messenger'), to include a passage in his "Maria Stuart" in which an exiled queen begs the clouds to carry her greetings to her homeland.

Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835) studied Colebrooke's translations of the Vedas, eventually learned Sanskrit, and prepared his own German translation of the Bhagavad Gītā. In 1825 he delivered two lectures in the Berlin Academy of Sciences in which he stated that the chief message of the Gītā was the illusoriness of the phenomenal world (of individuals) when compared with the world of ideal unity (the divine), and the dependence of particulars upon their universals. His most original contribution was the thought that every language has its own distinct world-view that orients its speakers in a distinct way (a view later expanded upon by such eminent men as Benjamin Whorf and Edward Sapir).

Friedrich W. J. Schelling (1775-1854) held mythology to be the highest form of art, and saw in the polytheistic mythology of India a richer proliferation of divine images than in the more barren monotheistic traditions. In India's golden age, according to Schelling, people lived close to nature and saw natural events as manifestations of God. This enabled them to express themselves in terms of an ideal realm that contrasts with the later Greek philosophers who were detached observers of nature. The Hindu sacred books, said Schelling, surpassed even the Bible in their imaginative richness, and Hinduism's view of Christ as but one incarnation of the divine surpassed virtually all other religions in its universality.

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[55] Johann G. Herder, Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man, transl. by T. Churchell, London: J. Johnson, 2nd ed., 1803, vol. II, p. 36.

[56] Quoted in G. T. Garratt, The Legacy of India, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937, p. 33.

Two outstanding exponents of German literary romanticism were the brothers August and Friedrich von Schlegel, both of whom studied Sanskrit in France under Alexander Hamilton and who jointly edited the literary magazine Athenaum. August (1767-1845) urged artists to hark back to India for their most potent images of life as an innocent dream, and he himself rendered the Bhagavad Gītā and Rāmāyaṇa into Latin (translating the World Spirit, Brahman, as 'numen'). Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1825), with his statement that philosophy is poetry and poetry is philosophy, was a chief mouthpiece for the Romantic circle in Berlin around the turn of the century. For him the goal in life was to comprehend the infinite through intuition, a view compatible with certain schools of Hindu philosophy. He compared the Hindu epics with Homer and Kālidāsa with Sophocles. In his studies of Sanskrit, he hoped to find the origin of all human knowledge; along the way he translated the Bhagavad Gītā into German and edited the journal Europa. However, the more he studied Sanskrit and the ancient Hindu texts, the greater was his disappointment. He found that the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy was too dualistic; the Vedāntins were too 'pantheistic'; the Nyāya logicians had "given birth to a complete system of self-delusion—a diabolical self idolatry..." And the concentration of the yogins could lead to "real intellectual self-annihilation, and to the disorder of all thought, even of the brain."[57] In this case it was his very erudition that shattered his romantic image of India. Eventually he dropped his Sanskrit studies and became a Roman Catholic. The remaining Romantics were left with an 'image' of India that had been shown to be false. Rather than abandoning the 'image' altogether, authors like Ernst T. A. Hoffmann and Heinrich Heine introduced a new element in their reflections on India—irony. The idealistic 'image' of India was false; nonetheless, they could fervently long for that 'image' even if it were not real.

Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860) had no particular interest in Indian literature, but in 1813 he began to immerse himself in oriental thought for the sake of its philosophy. Reasserting the Kantian dualism between the 'phenomenal' world of subject and object and the 'noumenal' world of transcendent reality, he identified the phenomenal world as 'illusion' or māyā and, in characteristic Indian fashion,

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57. Friedrich von Schlegel, The Philosophy of History, transl. by J. B. Robertson, London, H. G. Bohnm, 1846, p. 186.

asserted that the desire for all objects causes the painful split between subject and object. Injecting his own note of pessimism, Schopenhauer asserted that the only real, metaphysical being is the will which, in itself, is fundamentally evil. Only through the mortification of the will, complete resignation, and extinction of the self is the salvation of mankind possible. One of Schopenhauer's disciples, Paul Deussen, published a series of popular works on Hinduism including Das System des Vedanta (1883) and Sechzig Upanishads des Veda (1897), read by T.S. Eliot.

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900) drew heavily on Indian thought in the development of his own philosophy. He accepted Schopenhauer's meaningless world and declared that the death of God (and all metaphysical absolutes) was the root cause. He saw his task as 'transvaluing' all values around a purely human center—without the cloak of myth. The most fundamental human urge, said Nietzsche, is the will to power, a will that he recognized in the early Hindu ascetics.

> The yogi became dangerous to the gods. When they see him fast and mortify himself and produce 'heat,' tapas, they tremble, fearing for their power. He becomes their master.[58]

Nietzsche felt Buddhism was superior to Hinduism since the latter denied life; and both were superior to Christianity that endorsed a 'slave morality.'

Although a certain amount of German interest in India had waned with the 'shattering' of the Indian 'image,' there was an interesting revival in India's influence in Hermann Hesse (1877–1962). Hesse was deeply influenced by his missionary grandfather as a child, and later studied Hinduism and Buddhism, even visiting India in 1911. Although fascinated by the 'spirit of the East,' it was clear to him that as a Westerner he could not literally be a part of it. In this he differed from most of the earlier German Romantics. While writing his sensitive novel Siddartha about a Buddha-like man in ancient India seeking religious meaning in the various paths of Indian religion, Hesse said:

> ... Only recently have I been approaching the actual religious India of the Gods of Vishnu and Indra, Brahma and Krishna. And now Buddhism appears to me more and more as a kind of very pure, highly bred reformation—a purification and spiritualization...[59]

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[58] Cited in Walter Kaufman, Nietzsche, New York: Meridian, 1963, p. 240.

[59] Quoted in Theodore Zioldowski, The Novels of Hermann Hesse, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 20.

Writers and Philosophers: Great Britain

In comparison to Germany, the effect of Indian thought on the writers and philosophers in Britain was considerably less. Aside from the relatively minor Scottish philosopher Sir William Hamilton and Oxford's Thomas H. Green and F. H. Bradley, Great Britain's philosophers were almost completely unaffected by their German contemporaries during the period from Kant to Nietzsche. They were asking different questions and finding different answers. Jeremy Bentham was concerned with principles of 'association' and the 'greatest happiness for the greatest number.' Robert Owen was bent on removing the major abuses of the industrial system. James Mill believed in the omnipotence of education. His son, John Stuart Mill, combined English utilitarianism with French positivism to develop his canons of inductive methods for determining causality. And Herbert Spencer generalized a law of evolution that he felt spanned both physical and social phenomena. All of them shared the view that every argument and piece of evidence must be weighed in the crucible of reason. The one-ness of all, the innocence of early India, the importance of mystical experience, and the omnipotence of the mind and its categorizations could hardly have been more alien to their temperament. This being the case, Indian thought that specialized in these areas found little resonance among British philosophers.

India featured slightly more among British poets and writers. Wordsworth in his "Ode on Intimations of Immortality" suggests a belief in the pre-existence of the soul, an idea with strong Hindu overtones. Samuel T. Coleridge made psychological observations on the activities of the mind under abnormal and sometimes morbid conditions, and he felt an affinity for Indian monism and pantheism. Shelley's "Adonais" conveyed the spirit of the Upaniṣads. The Irish poet Thomas Moore's "Lalla Rookh" (1817) was patterned on an Eastern style and theme: a princess on her way to Kashmir to marry a prince falls in love with a handsome young storyteller; in the end the storyteller proves to be the prince in disguise. One may find hints of Indian influence in the writings of Byron, Keats, Shelley, and Scott, although what influence one can find has often been filtered through intermediaries such as Schelling. Alfred Tennyson's poem "Akbar's Dream" (praising the Emperor Akbar's attempts to bring religious toleration) and his verses honoring the beseiged Lucknow in 1857 were both inspired by occurrences in India. The Scottish poet John Stuart Blackie refers to Brahma in his poem "Trimurti". The Irish poet A. E. Russell was influenced by Theosophy (see below) and reflected India in his poems entitled "An Indian Song," "The Veils of Maya," "Om," "Oversoul," and "Krishna." Another Irishman, W.B. Yeats, in addition to his exposure to Dublin Theosophy, was deeply moved by Tagore's "Gitanjali." Yeats published a number of poems on Indian themes such as "The Indian upon God," "The Indian to his Love," and "Anushaya and Vijaya," as well as a free rendition of some Upaniṣads. T. S. Eliot, an American poet established in England, occasionally used passages from ancient Indian texts to form images or convey meanings, such as his use of "Datta, Dayadhvam, and Damyata" (give, sympathize, control) and "Shantih, Shantih, Shantih" (peace, peace, peace) in

"The Waste Land" (1922). And the English novelist L. H. Myers placed two of his books in an Indian setting: The Root and the Flower (1934) and the Pool of Vishnu (1940). This list of poems and writings reflects an influence of India on writers of Great Britain that was both visible and real, albeit modest.

Writers and Philosophers: The United States

Perhaps the earliest significant dialogue between Indians and American writers and philosophers occurred in connection with the Bengali Rāmmohun Roy. Roy had debated with the missionaries in Serampore over the Unitarian as opposed to the Trinitarian view of God. Roy's Unitarian arguments had proved so persuasive that one Baptist missionary, William Adam, was converted from Trinitarianism to Unitarianism. When Roy traveled to England in 1830, he was much in demand by the English branches of the Unitarian society. All this brought him to the attention of American Unitarians. There were exchanges of correspondence and from that time on there has been a special link between the Unitarians in America and Rāmmohun Roy's Brahmo Samāj in India. It is not surprising that the first serious American movement influenced by Indian thought, the Transcendentalists of Concord, Massachusetts, drew from the Unitarians for their membership.

The Transcendentalist movement grew up as a reaction against excessive puritanism, eighteenth century rationalism, and an orthodox Unitarianism that sometimes seemed spiritually dead. It emulated the eclectic spirit of Victor Cousin who combined the idealistic philosophy of the Hindus, the 'yankee shrewdness' of Confucius, and the poetic inspiration of the Muslim Sufi mystics.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803 - 1882) was the foremost spokesman for the Transcendentalists. As a Unitarian minister in Boston, he had befriended Coleridge and Wordsworth and had started reading oriental classics through the Edinburgh Review, noting that they were "like rainbows to be thankfully received in their first impression and not examined by theodolite and chain..."[60] In time Emerson read the Bhagavad Gītā and some of the Purāṇas. Perhaps his favorite Indian text was from the Chandogya Upaniṣad, 'tat tvam asi,' meaning 'you (the individual) are that (universal essence).' Emerson captured some of the teachings of the Gītā in his poem "Brahma." For him, God never became the goal of ecstatic union (as He had for some German philosophers). Rather, God remained the source of spiritual laws that guide reasonable men.

Three other major proponents of Transcendentalism were Margaret Fuller (founder of the club and editor of its journal "The Dial"), Bronson Alcott (who promoted the

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[60] Quoted in Harold Isaacs, Scratches on Our Minds, New York: John Day, 1958, p. 252.

U.S. publication of Sir Edwin Arnold's "The Light of Asia") and Henry David Thoreau (who conducted his classical experiment in simple living at Walden Pond and once declared that "the pure Walden water is mingled with the sacred stream of the Ganges").[61]

The Transcendentalist movement died with the death of its leaders, since they were not popularizers. But its influence lived on in other organizations. One such group was the Christian Scientists, founded by Mary Baker Eddy. Probably through the influence of Emerson, Mary Baker Eddy read Hindu texts and extracted those terms and concepts that were relevant within her frame of reference. This is explicitly evident in the earlier edition of her book Science and Health, in which she included quotations from Vedantic texts and from the Bhagavad Gītā. In later editions, these references to Hinduism were deleted. But she retained their fundamental ideas. In Science and Health one hears the echoes of the Upaniṣads as she writes:

> There is only one ME or US, only one Principle or Mind, which governs all things... Everything reflects or refracts in God's Creation one unique Mind; and everything which does not reflect this unique mind is false and a cheat...[62]

Organizations and Movements

The decades between 1890 and 1910 saw the arrival of some 150,000 Japanese and 2,000 East Indian immigrants in the United States alone before the 'gentleman's agreement' of 1907 and the Immigration Law of 1917 virtually prohibited any further influx. The Japanese brought with them some of their own Buddhist organizations, largely those of the Shin and Pure Land school, but with some Zen. Among the East Indians the Sikhs established their own gurudvārās (temples) in British Columbia, Canada and in California. These groups have not been evangelistic. Their membership is made up largely of those born into the faith, and adults who join as new members do so primarily through marriage. Where 'conversion' to Indian religions or perspectives has occurred, then, it has not been because of any massive proselytizing on the part of Indians. Typically the initiative has been taken by Westerners who concluded through their own reading or discussion that certain aspects of India's heritage had particular relevance for themselves.

One such group of Westerners who became, in a sense, 'followers' might be termed eroticists. Anticipating by nearly a century the philosophy of Hugh Hefner and Playboy magazine, the eroticists felt that when it came to sex Western civilization was unduly prudish or blatantly hypocritical. For them, India, with its voluptuous architecture and sacred texts on love-making dealt with sex in a more realistic and satisfactory manner. In 1883 an organization known as the Kāma Śāstra Society of London and Banaras arranged to have the noted traveler and linguist Sir Richard Burton translate Vātsyāyana's Kāma Sūtra from Sanskrit into English. His translation was privately printed and sold and subsequently pirated and reprinted in other editions.[63] Around the turn of the century, the Frenchman Burnier was allowed to photograph the erotic sculpture at the temples of Khajurāho, and the German writer, Dr. Magnus Hirschfeldt, came to India to collect erotic materials for his publications (later burned by the Nazis). The general consensus of the eroticists, based on the more imaginative Hindu textual passages and the more bluntly graphic sculpture at places like Khajurāho and Konarāk, was that compared to Westerners Indians had superior knowledge of and greater dexterity in the refinements of love-making. Therefore, it behooved a Westerner interested in this art to study closely (and presumably to imitate) the skills developed to such a high level in India.

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[61] Quoted in L. S. S. O'Malley, op. cit., p. 550.

[62] Quoted in Romain Rolland, Prophets of the New India, London: Cassell, 1930, p. 271.

Another group of Westerners who borrowed deeply from India in the development of their personal philosophies were the members of the Theosophical Society. Madame Helen P. Blavatsky (1831-1891) of Russian origin traveled in Canada, America, Mexico, and Egypt before her first trip to Tibet. There, according to her own account, she received 'The Secret Doctrine' from the 'mahātmas' who resided in the mountains, and she returned to America preaching her new faith. In 1875, along with William Q. Judge and Colonel William S. Olcott she founded the Theosophical Society with Colonel Olcott as its president.

The Society gave as one of its purposes the making of systematic investigations into the mystic potentials of life and matter (usually termed occultism). Already, according to Madame Blavatsky, occult wisdom existed that had been transmitted through the ages by a brotherhood of 'mahātmas', the same brotherhood with which she had been in touch in Tibet. Some of these 'mahātmas' had achieved such mastery of their own spirits that they were able to control natural forces in apparently miraculous ways. The brāhmaṇic and Buddhist doctrines of reincarnation and karma were accepted as the means of cosmic justice, and yoga was recognized as one means of attaining religious insight.

The Society found a potential ally in Swami Dayananda's Ārya Samāj in India and in 1878 they agreed to work together for the revival of Vedic wisdom. At the end of that year the Society's leaders 'received orders' from the 'mahātmas' in Tibet to proceed to India, and in 1879 they were welcomed to Bombay by members of the

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[63] It is currently available in paperback under the title: Sir Richard F. Burton (tr.), The Kama Sutra of Vatsyayana, New York: E. P. Dutton (D139), 1964.

Ārya Samāj. In 1882 the Theosophical Society established its headquarters at Adyar, near Madras, where it continues to the present.

Once in India, the Society underwent various vicissitudes. Richard Hodgson of the London Society for Psychical Research investigated Madame Blavatsky's 'precipitated' letters from the Tibetan 'mahātmas' and reported that they had all been forged by Madame Blavatsky herself. Charges were brought that Charles W. Leadbeater was using occultism to cover 'perverse behavior' with the sons of members he was initiating into the Society. And a man named Krishnamurti, whom the Theosophists had identified at age 14 through occult means as the new World Teacher, announced after 18 years of being the awaited Teacher that the Theosophists had made a mistake. Nonetheless, the Society grew, establishing branches in cities like London and Dublin, where it attracted such men as William B. Yeats and D. H. Lawrence.

One energetic convert was Mrs. Annie Besant, who joined the London branch of the Society in 1889. In 1892 Mrs. Besant sailed to India to attend a Theosophical conference. Upon her arrival, she became a daughter of her 'beloved Motherland,' adopting Hindu manners and costume, and maintaining that Indian ways were her natural ways since in her most recent incarnations she had been an Indian. In 1907, when Colonel Olcott died, Annie Besant became president of the Society.

Just as Colonel Olcott had prepared a Buddhist Catechism for use in Buddhist schools and had traveled about Ceylon preaching to the people the glories of their own Buddhism, so Annie Besant now set about inspiring Indians with a confidence in their own Hinduism. In 1898 she founded the Central Hindu College in Banaras that became the nucleus for Banaras Hindu University, where Indians could receive higher education that did not ridicule their heritage. In 1914 Mrs. Besant told the students of Madras Presidency College:

> ...after a study of some forty years or more of the great religions of the world, I find none so perfect, none so scientific, none so philosophical, and none so spiritual as the great religion known by the name of Hinduism. The more you know it, the more you will love it; the more you try to understand it, the more deeply will you value it.[64]

Annie Besant was an ardent Indian nationalist. Her political agitation for independence led to her imprisonment by the British authorities. There was widespread popular pressure for her release, and when she was finally freed in 1917, Indian nationalists bestowed on her their highest honor: she was made president of the Indian

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[64] Quoted in D. S. Sarma, The Renaissance of Hinduism, Benares: Benares Hindu University, 1944, p. 212.

National Congress not only for the three days of the annual conference but for the entire year. Two years later, when the Congress came under Gandhi's influence, Annie Besant could not sympathize with the turn of events. She withdrew from political life into her own experiments with occultism, suffered deeply though bravely when her protégé Krishnamurti announced that he was not a Messiah, and died in Adyar after a long illness in 1933.

In the 1960's the Theosophical Society in the United States alone had over one hundred lodges with a total membership of over four thousand. Throughout the world the membership is approximately 33,000, with 8,500 of these in India and large centers in Paris and London. Although the Theosophical Society retains elements of occultism, its contemporary attraction is primarily intellectual as a synthesis of the best from various religions. Possibly its most significant long-range contribution has been its influence on the Hindus' view of themselves and the intellectual respectability of their own religion.

Another group in the West that has bolstered the confidence of Hindus has been the Vedanta Society or the Ramakrishna Mission to the West. This Society has followed a more typically missionary pattern, with the missionaries in this case traveling from India to Europe and America. One of the first such visitors was Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), who had lived and studied with the Bengali mystic Sri Ramakrishna, seen God himself, and who came to Chicago in 1893 to attend the First World Parliament of Religions. In the opening session he stated:

> I fervently hope that the bell that tolled this morning in honour of this convention may be the death-knell of all fanatacism, of all persecutions with the sword or with the pen, and of all uncharitable feelings between persons wending their way to the same goal.[65]

Vivekananda was expressing a typical Hindu thought that brought forth a warm response from the delegates to the World Parliament. American papers reported the Swami's speech in full, life-size pictures of him were displayed in the streets of Chicago, and the New York Herald wrote that he was undoubtedly the 'greatest figure in the Parliament of Religions.' Vivekananda remained in America three years, lecturing to audiences across the nation and acquiring something of a following. Harvard University offered him a chair in Eastern philosophy which, as a sannyāsin, he could not accept. In 1894, before leaving the country, he founded the Vedanta Society for the further training of his American disciples. After preaching on the continent and in England, where his followers came to include Margaret E. Noble (who later adopted India and the Indian name Sister Nivedita), Vivekananda

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65. S. Madhavananda (ed.), The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda, Almora: Advaita Ashram, 1923, vol. I, p. 2.

returned to India and received a hero's welcome from his countrymen. He predicted that "before ten years elapse a vast majority of the English people will be Vedantic."[66]

In 1897, Vivekananda dedicated his newly-organized Ramakrishna Mission to philanthropy and welfare work and incorporated the Mission into the activities of the Vedanta Society. During his final five years, he performed pilgrimages, made a rapid return visit to the West, and built two monasteries in India. He died in one of these monasteries at the early age of thirty-nine.

In the West the Vedanta Society received visits from Swami Saradananda, Swami Abhedananda, and Swami Turiyananda, and with the help of a donation of 160 acres in Southern California, it established its American center called Shanti Ashram. A 1930 survey showed that the followers of Vedanta included twice as many women as men, had an average age of 48, and came in over half the cases from Protestant homes.[67] By the late 1930's the Society had attracted Gerald Heard, Aldous Huxley, and Christopher Isherwood from England to Southern California. Heard (1889-) is perhaps best known for his efforts to develop a synthesis of Buddhism and Hinduism (e.g., The Third Morality, 1937); Huxley, partly through Heard's influence, sought a 'Perennial Philosophy' that represented all religious traditions of the world, a philosophy to which Vedanta seemed closer than any other religion; Isherwood (1904-) edited collections of writings about Vedanta (e.g., Vedanta for the Western World and Vedanta for Modern Man, 1945) and collaborated with Swami Prabhavananda in translating the Bhagavad Gītā.[68]

By the 1960's the Ramakrishna Mission had ten centers in the United States, over a hundred in India (concentrated in Bengal but distributed throughout the major cities), and one each in Argentina, England, and France. Generally each center holds meditation classes, services on Sunday, and discussions of texts such as the Bhagavad Gītā during the week. Typically the centers in the West do not proselytize in accord with Vivekananda's statement that his purpose was "making the Christian a better Christian"; persons can take part in all activities while retaining their affiliation with Christianity or Judaism. The swamis in residence are invited from India by members of the Society, but they are directly responsible to the Ramakrishna monastery back in India.

After Swami Vivekananda's visit to the West, a variety of religious men came from India and founded cults and societies, among them Baba Bharati, Yogi Hari Rama, Yoga Deva Ram, Swami Bissessar, and Swami Omkar. Many taught some form of yoga directed toward health, self-realization, financial success, and a variety of spiritual goals. Their followings were frequently short-lived and small. Perhaps the largest of these movements was established by Swami Yogananda, a follower of the Babaji of Bengal (Yukteśvara) and a member of the Giri group following Śaṅkara, who came to America in 1920 to attend an International Congress of Religious Liberals in Boston. On his tours Swami Yogananda frequently used American ideas and Western symbols (for example, he once lectured on "How to Recharge Your Business Battery out of the Cosmos") and he was willing to advertise his message via billboards and other communication techniques. Where Vivekananda had emphasized renunciation and knowledge, Yogananda stressed resignation, devotion, and work. Yogananda established a correspondence university that by 1930 had a total of 25,000 followers in one form or another. Even in the 1960's his Los Angeles Center served as the headquarters for the Yogoda Sat-Sanga Society ('Self-Realizatio Fellowship') that teaches primarily psychic yoga and health yoga.

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[66] Wendell Thomas, Hinduism Invades America, Boston: Beacon Press, 1930, p. 83.

[67] Wendell Thomas, op. cit., p. 117.

[68] Available in paperback, see The Song of God: Bhagavad-Gita, transl. by Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood, New York: Mentor Books (MD103), 1954.

A movement with a somewhat more scholarly attraction have been the Buddhist Societies. A major branch was founded in Britain in 1906, obtained the services of a distinguished Council with Professor Rhys Davids as president, and was visited in 1908 by a British monk from Burma, Ananda Metteya (Allan Bennett) supported by Burmese funds. In 1924 Christmas Humphreys launched a Buddhist Center in the London Theosophical Society that became autonomous two years later and eventually was named the Buddhist Society, London. In 1929 'Les Amis de Bouddhisme' was founded in Paris followed by various Buddhist organizations in America, Canada, and other parts of the world. Brief ceremonies have been devised for Buddhist weddings and cremations. In 1954 a Buddhist vihāra (monastery) was opened in London for Sinhalese monks. The Buddhist societies have shown considerable interest in journals and publications, maintaining a long tradition of Buddhist scholarship. For example, in 1955 the London Buddhist Society published Edward Conze's translations from the Prajñāpāramitā books of Mahāyāna Buddhism under the title Selected Sayings from the Perfection of Wisdom. In 1956 Christmas Humphreys, a chief spokesman for the Buddhist Society, London, wrote:

> Buddhism is being increasingly understood as a way of life completely distinct from the prevailing theistic religions of which alone the West has general knowledge, and the curiosity about the Dhamma and what it has to offer the Western world is rising rapidly. We exist to satisfy it.[69]

Groups and movements have emerged in the West with slender but identifiable ties to India and Eastern thought. The Dadaists, for example, emerged simultaneously in Zurich and New York City shortly after the start of World War I as an artistic rebellion against order, logic, science, and efficiency that had led into war. Dada poems and paintings were deliberately incoherent and non-logical. One method of writing poetry was to clip words from a newspaper, mix them in a bag, and paste them on a page in the order in which they were withdrawn. Pablo Picabia, a Dadaist, once gave a lecture in which he made a chalk drawing on the blackboard. As he drew, someone immediately behind him erased what he had drawn; while at the front of the stage a lecture was being given on the virtually non-existent picture. Dadaists wanted to upset the 'maya vision,' to stress the fictional nature of the psychologists' ego, and to show that preconceived 'pigeon holes of the brain' inhibit rather than aid perception of reality. The Rumanian Tristan Tzara wrote seven of the ten Dada manifestoes and served as a leading intellectual of the movement, drawing on elements of Hindu thought as well as the writings of German Romantics such as Schopenhauer and Hesse who had absorbed and reworked such thought. The inspiration for the movement clearly did not come from India, but the fact that the movement's leader chose Indian terms to describe the Dadaist position is in itself an interesting transmission of Indian thought to the West.[70]

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[69] Christmas Humphreys, A Buddhist Students' Manual, London: Buddhist Society, 1956, p. 115.

The 'Hippy' movement of the 1960's contains elements that resemble the Dada movement. The Hippies are in rebellion against the Western 'establishment' with its bureaucratization, depersonalization, commercialization, adult hypocricy, acquisitiveness, mass culture, and conformity. They have congregated in enclaves such as the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco along with the drop-outs, the runaways, the interracial, and the intersexual. They have sponsored 'Human Be-In's in which tens of thousands have joined in congenial, unplanned outdoor 'happenings'. And in their search for genuine and 'total' experience, the Hippies have sometimes used drugs such as mescaline to 'go on trips' into their subconscious. Aldous Huxley used mescaline in 1953 to achieve 'that complete ego-less awareness of being' that was a goal of Hindu mysticism, and Timothy Leary, who co-authored The Psychedelic Experience: A Manual Based on the Tibetan Book of the Dead (1964), examined similarities between psychic experiences induced by drugs and those achieved through Buddhist mental discipline. The Hippies have been curious about what psychic insights might be achieved through other Indian rituals such as repeating the syllable 'Om' and chanting 'Hari Krishna.'

Hinduism and Buddhism have both stressed nonattachment to material possessions, a view that suits the Hippy approach to life. It is not too surprising that many of the leaders of the Hippies have had some exposure to India. Alan Watts (1915-) was a minister, college professor and editor of the Buddhist Society's journal The Middle Way before he began writing primarily about Zen but also about the Vedanta doctrine of the identity between the World and the Self. Timothy Leary of The

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[70] See Robert Motherwell (ed.), The Dada Painters and Poets, New York: Wittenborn Schultz, Inc., 1951.

Psychedelic Experience visited India in 1966 and frequently wears Indian clothes when making public appearances. Allen Ginsberg, an acknowledged leader of the Beat Generation and described by Alan Watts as a 'rabbinic sadhu', lived in India in 1962-63 on the banks of the Ganges at Banaras and returned to the United States convinced of the benefits of poetic recitation as a yogic discipline. Ginsberg also frequently wears Indian dress to public gatherings. Over the years terms like 'karma,' 'dharma,' 'mandala,' 'nirvana,' 'mantra,' 'samadhi,' and 'raga' have become a standard part of Hippy vocabulary.

What will happen to the Hippy movement in ten years is hard to predict. But at the moment in places like New York and San Francisco there is probably more overt awareness of elements of Indian thought than there has been at any previous time.

During the twentieth century, no single Indian influenced the West as much as Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869-1948). After his assassination over three thousand letters of sympathy from foreign countries poured into India. The United Nations flew its flag at half mast. And Albert Deutsch in the New York newspaper PM wrote, "The shock and sorrow that followed the New Delhi tragedy shows we still respect sainthood even when we cannot fully understand it."[71] In addition to the general impression Gandhi conveyed to the world of the utterly honest, self-denying seeker after truth, he had a particularly compelling influence on a number of specific Westerners. For example, the English missionary Charles F. Andrews, intrigued by Gandhi's work for the Indian community in South Africa, sailed to South Africa to join him in his work. They became friends and continued their close association back in India during the struggle for Indian independence. In addition to editing three books of Gandhi's writings, Andrews wrote two books of the question of India's independence, India and Britain (1935) and The True India: A Plea for Understanding (1939), the latter a defense against Katherine Mayo's Mother India (see above). The English Quaker Horace Alexander was a close friend of Gandhi's and a frequent messenger between Gandhi and the British government. Gandhi became a champion of American and British Quakers, partly because of his unique contact with Horace Alexander and other Quakers during India's struggle for independence, partly because of his own emphasis on the Quaker values of pacifism and non-violence.

The French pacifist and Sorbonne art professor, Romain Rolland was encouraged and inspired by Gandhi and wrote one of the earliest biographies of Gandhi available to the West. The French Christian mystic, Joseph Jean Lanza del Vasto, visited Gandhi in his ashram at Wardha "to meet at last the most outstanding Christian," and returned to southern France to establish a Gandhian-style ashram. Both Rolland and del Vasto saw in Gandhi an inspiring fellow seeker after truth rather than a guru at whose feet they would sit and learn.

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[71] Louis Fischer, The Life of Mahatma Gandhi, New York: Harper, 1950, p. 24.

The Italian social reformer Danilo Dolci renounced his planned career as an architect to join a self-sufficient Catholic community in central Italy. Eventually he traveled to Sicily, where he lived in one of the poorest sections of the island, preached non-violence as the principle of his work, and became deeply involved in social action. He admitted that Gandhi's example inspired his own decisions. In fact, Gandhi was to Dolci what Thoreau had been to Gandhi.

The Americans Gandhi especially influenced have included the writers Vincent Sheean (Lead, Kindly Light, 1949) and Louis Fischer (The Life of Mahatma Gandhi, 1950). Fischer was especially moved by his meetings with Gandhi; as a journalist who felt betrayed by the Soviet revolution, he was searching for other form of idealistic, effective, and moral social reform than communism.

From the point of view of mass movements, Gandhi's influence has been demonstrated most clearly through Dr. Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. King was introduced to the ideas of Gandhi while he was a student at Crozer Theological Seminary. He describes the change that took place in his thinking on reading several of Gandhi's books:

> Prior to reading Gandhi, I had about concluded that...the 'turn the other cheek' philosophy and the 'love your enemies' philosophy were only valid...when individuals were in conflict with other individuals; when racial groups and nations were in conflict, a more realistic approach seemed necessary. But after reading Gandhi, I saw how utterly mistaken I was...It was in this Gandhian emphasis on love and non-violence that I discovered the method for social reform.[72]

When he started the bus boycotts, the sit-ins, the voter registration drives, and the mass marches on Selma and Montgomery, Dr. King borrowed heavily from the technique of satyagraha ('truth-force') that Gandhi invented in South Africa and used with such success against the British in India. Gandhi's satyagraha, based on truth, non-violence, and self-suffering, included exhausting all available channels of legitimate protest, minimizing the humiliation of the opponent, and providing constructive work activity that benefited the public and sometimes the opponent also. King adapted from satyagraha those elements that best fit the American temper: the truth, non-violence, and self-suffering that comes from announced protest, civil disobedience and imprisonment. He underplayed such elements as fasts and dietary restrictions that played such a part in Gandhi's approach. Throughout, King has legitimized his methods by relating them firmly to the Christian and American heritage: Christ's sermon on the mount, the declaration of independence, the Bill of Rights, Lincoln's Gettysburg address, the decisions of the Supreme Court, and the protest hymn "We Shall Overcome." But Gandhi has been in the background, where Dr. King can use him as 'proof' that non-violence succeeds not just in America in mid-twentieth century but also in other lands and times. Rev. King's 1967 decision to oppose America's war in Vietnam was, he felt, a direct extension of Gandhian principles from the domestic to the international scene.

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[72] Martin Luther King, Stride Toward Freedom, New York: Harper, 1958, p. 97.

A number of Americans, convinced that the wars of the mid-twentieth century are the inevitable product of Western social institutions, have invited leaders of the Indian Gandhian sarvodaya movement like Jayaprakash Narayan to teach the West how a society can be established that is neither capitalistic nor communistic but is based on decentralization, participation on all levels in economic and political decisions, and has as its goal the 'welfare of all.' To date, pressing problems in India have prevented sarvodayans coming to the United States to teach. Nonetheless, here is another area in which Western intellectuals might be affected by India.

CONCLUSIONS

On the broadest level, this chapter has been dealing with the question: What happens when two civilizations meet? A question this large needs to be broken into smaller, more manageable questions of the sort we asked at the start of this chapter:

Who became interested in India and why? A glance at the subtitles (Linguists, Philosophers, Theologians, etc.) indicates that many different sorts of persons became interested in India, for widely varying reasons.

Where did they find their materials, and how did they analyze them? The answer is that many of them found their materials as they had been transmitted through the hands of careful scholars trying for accuracy of meaning, if not elegance of style, although these materials were sometimes supplemented and sometimes displaced by lectures from visiting swamis, accounts of travelers who had returned from India, personal visits to India, or occult 'messages' through the cosmos.

With whom did they search for, and with whom did they discuss their findings? Here too the answer becomes as broad as the categories. They searched with whoever was interested in the same questions, sometimes with Indians, often with other Westerners, and the quest of one frequently stimulated the quest of another. We have repeatedly seen a complex web of interpenetrating influences, with men like Franz Bopp and Arthur Schopenhauer drawing from widely-scattered influences and generating as many influences again.

How did their fellow Westerners respond to them? This is one of the hardest questions to answer, since they responded in so many different ways, from titles, and university chairs in the case of men like Max Müller, to derision in the case of Madame Blavatsky, and arched eyebrows in the case of the Hippies. It depended on so many variables.

First, the response of other Westerners depended on the degree of 'fit' between India's questions and answers and those of the West (and here we must introduce distinctions of time and place within 'the West'). In the early nineteenth century the questions German philosophers were asking corresponded in important ways with the questions Hindu philosophers had been trying to answer. Once this was discovered, Indian insights were viewed with respect, as were those Germans who explored and incorporated those insights. During this same period, the questions of French and English philosophers were almost completely unrelated to Hindu philosophy; the reputation of those who sought 'wisdom' from India consequently suffered. As German philosophers changed their line of inquiry in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Hindu philosophy became less relevant for them too, with a decline in interest toward those working in the field. The demands of Western philology have provided continuing status and support to those who have studied Indo-European languages and the grammar of Pāṇini. University departments such as those of comparative religion or comparative literature have provided positions for those who have mastered some of the intricacies of India's heritage. Martin Luther King has enjoyed a high reputation and has suffered not at all for his use of Gandhian insights, since they have met the needs of a particular movement at a particular time in history. But this can change at other times and in other parts of the West.

Second, the response of other Westerners depended on the status of the inquirer into Indian wisdom. A learned professor in Oxford who begins a long-term analysis of Indian materials to discover the origin of man's religious inquiry is treated differently from the adolescent drop-out attending a 'Human Be-In' with his friends, none of whom have the accouterments of higher education to suggest that their interest is anything other than a passing fad. Max Weber with his ponderous erudition is different from the xenophobic Adolf Hitler or the volatile Annie Besant with her occult messages about forthcoming Messiahs.

Third, the response of other Westerners depended on the degree to which interest in or acceptance of India required rejection of the West. In some ways the most 'successful' students of India were those who could use Indian materials to supplement, enrich, or substantiate conclusions derived from Western materials. This was the case with the Indologists, Archaeologists, the Anthropologists, and the students of Comparative Institutions, whose techniques were basically those of the western scholarly world and who were able to contribute pieces from India to the puzzle of man's development. Often the least 'successful' students of India were those who found it necessary to reject general Western assumptions. The Hippies who use drugs to achieve insights reject the Western assumption that drugs produce hallucinations, not insights. The Theosophists who resort to occultism and mysticism reject the general Western view that these are not acceptable sources for empirical truth.

In short, there is no easy answer to the question, 'What happens when two civilizations meet?', at least if India and the West are any indication. There is a complex process of borrowing, rejecting, and adapting that continues and ramifies back on itself again. One might hazard the guess that with all this borrowing and modifying the two civilizations will establish increasing points of contact and an enlarging dialogue that will lead to greater similarities. But the two civilizations are so complex to begin with, and contain so many parts that differ among themselves, that the greater similarities may well be more than offset by greater proliferations and experimentations as members of both civilizations continue to explore ways to deal with their environment, their fellow men, and themselves.

CHAPTER VII

DEVELOPMENT AND REACH OF MASS MEDIA IN INDIA

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DEVELOPMENT AND REACH OF MASS MEDIA IN INDIA

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DEVELOPMENT AND REACH OF MASS MEDIA IN INDIA

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> One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects.
>
> -- Mahatma Gandhi

INTRODUCTION

It is the best of times, it is the worst of times. This may be a good way to begin the tale of the media of mass communications in India.

The best of Indian newspapers, magazines, films or radio programs are fine by any standard. They exist, however, alongside much of the primitive. A half-billion potential audience must be any movie producer's paradise, any broadcaster's golden opportunity, any editor's challenge, any adman's dream come true. Yet India is a communications poor farm.

UNESCO's minimum recommended mass media spread for developing nations is 10 copies of daily newspapers, 5 radio sets, 2 cinema seats and 2 television sets for 100 people. India's present share is only 1.2 copies of daily newspapers, 1.2 radios, 0.6 cinema seat and practically no TV sets for every 100 Indians.

India has the world's second largest population with a ratio of literates to illiterates of 35 - 65. It is one nation using 16 principal languages (including Sanskrit and English), with 72 others spoken by more than 100,000 persons each, and over 700 minor languages and dialects. The setting presents a vast and intricate communication challenge.

It is the best of times because, as Weiner points out:

> Indian democracy is remarkable for the nearly total freedom of communication which it permits its citizens. Indians can and do freely organize political parties, caste, religious, and tribal associations, trade unions, chambers of commerce, and student and civic organizations. Newspapers are remarkably free from government interference and are multiplying in numbers and

> circulation in all major languages. Authors are finding growing audiences, and there are few restrictions on what publishers can publish.[1]

It is the best of times because

> among developing countries of the world, India has been of the more fortunate ones, whichever way one looks at it. From a journalist's point of view, it has a large number of newspapers in all the major languages; a good communications network to carry the papers to even remote villages; a good number of well-educated active and conscientious journalists who can put out newspapers of quality; a far-reaching radio network transmitting from regional stations all over the country; national and state information services backed by large production units for books, periodicals, posters, pamphlets, flip-charts, etc; one of the largest film industries in the world.[2]

It is the worst of times because communication as a social process is still unrecognized, even after two decades of India's independence. Whether it is for family planning, better agricultural methods or external publicity, a powerful tool has remained virtually unused. Mass media units have multipiled since 1947 without necessarily showing signs of inner growth. Like her food production, India's media have not done much better than to keep up proportionately with the population growth.

According to Pool, Communist and non-Communist countries make different decisions concerning investment in communications.[3]

> The practice in non-Communist countries is for development plans to provide large amounts for the education of children and for the eradication of illiteracy but relatively small amounts for other communications investment. The practice in the Communist

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[1] Myron Weiner, "A Note on Communication and Development in India," in Daniel Lerner and Wilbur Schramm (eds.), Communication and Change in the Developing Countries, Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967, pp. 190-191.

[2] Y.V. Lakshmana Rao, "A Second Opportunity for Indian Journalism," Gazette, XII, 4 (December, 1966), pp. 296-297.

[3] Ithiel de Sola Pool, "The Mass Media and Politics in the Modernization Process," in Lucian W. Pye (ed.), Communications and Political Development, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton U. Press, 1963, p. 234.

> countries is also to spend heavily for literacy and education but in addition to support expensive programs of exhortation addressed to adults. They invest much in the press, movies, loud speakers, etc.[4]

This is glaringly evident in India. The allocations in the various five-year plans for broadcasting, for example, have been minute; First Plan (1951-56), about one-tenth of one per cent of the total resources; Second Plan (1956-61), one-fifth of one per cent; Third Plan (1961-66), one-eighth of one per cent. The world hears much about India's food imports (less than 10 per cent of her annual needs), but little about her newsprint imports (about 90 per cent of her annual requirements). Yeoman attempts are being made to close the food gap, but little is done to solve the newsprint shortage.

All this does not mean that there is no flow of information in India. Surveys have shown that important news like the death of Nehru (1964), the Chinese invasion of India (1962), and conflicts with Pakistan over Kashmir (1947, 1965) spread rapidly through the whole country. Dube reported that in a national sample of over 3,000 persons (from 198 villages randomly chosen from different states) surveyed shortly after the Chinese attack, 83 per cent knew of the attack.[5] A similar study by the Indian Institute of Public Opinion on the Pakistan war in 1965 showed that 99 per cent of the metropolitan Indians (of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras) were conscious of the conflict.[6]

There are three broad types of communication networks in operation in the country: administrative, political and traditional. The government has a huge administrative machine that reaches down from the central and state levels. Political organizations also have their own machinery. Similarly, the various strata of Indian society, socio-economic, religious, regional, and caste, often have highly developed traditional channels. An important event like the shooting of Gandhi will quickly enter all these networks; whereas an item of continuing nature or of no immediate consequence, like information on the developmental programs, may not.

Let us look briefly at some of the organized channels: the press, broadcasting and films, as well as at some of the traditional channels.

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[4] Ibid.

[5] S. C. Dube, "Communication, Innovation, and Planned Change in India," in Lerner and Schramm, op. cit., p. 139.

[6] Monthly Public Opinion Surveys (of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion), XI, 1 (October, 1965), p. 4.

THE INDIAN PRESS

History: The Indian press is essentially a modern institution, in terms of the country's long heritage of literature and art forms. Ingenious means of communication did exist in the ancient Hindu kingdoms as well as in the Mughul courts. There were newsletters and court circulars galore, and a whole hierarchy of information functionaries. But journalism in the sense of a continuous effort to reach the masses with new information is a Western concept, founded on the idea that news *per se* is important.

Journalism, as we understand it today, is not too old an institution in any part of the world. Technical inventions like the telegraph, telephone or radio, adequate quantities of newsprint and fast printing equipment, means of distribution of the printed sheets, the spread of literacy, and the growth of urban centers capable of sustaining newspapers are all comparatively recent in human civilization.

European colonizers brought to India the equipment and know-how for printing, and they were the ones who used them first there. James Augustus Hicky, an ex-employee of the East India Co., 'late printer to the Honourable Company,' as he introduced himself in his paper, was a pioneer newspaperman. His *Bengal Gazette* appeared on Saturday, January 29, 1780, barely two 12" x 8" pages and three columns to each page. The clumsily printed *Gazette*, filled mostly with advertisements, described itself as a 'weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by none.' According to Wolseley:

> The two-sheet English language weekly paper was little more than a malicious scandal rag, aimed at officials of the East India Company and the governor-general (then Warren Hastings) and his retinue, including Mrs. Hastings.[7]

On November 14, 1780 the English administrators in Calcutta announced:

> Public notice is hereby given that as a weekly newspaper called the *Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser*, printed by

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[7] Roland E. Wolseley, "The Press of India: an Overview," *Gazette*, XII, 4 (December, 1966), p. 245. This is a good brief article on the Indian Press. Those interested in detailed study should read: (1) Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press*, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1940; (2) J. Natarajan, *History of Indian Journalism* (Part II, Report of the Press Commission), Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1955; (3) S. Natarajan, *A History of the Press in India*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962; (4) Nadig Krishna Murthy, *Indian Journalism*, Mysore: U. of Mysore, 1966.

> J. A. Hicky, has lately been found to contain several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters and to disturb the peace of the settlement, it is no longer permitted to be circulated through the channel of the General Post Office.

Libel suits were brought against Hicky. Finally, in March 1782, his printing shop was confiscated, sounding the death knell of the first Indian newspaper. Hicky was eventually imprisoned and ended in poverty. Even the pioneering venture, thus, was at loggerheads with the government of the day. For many years after Hicky, a long line of papers, especially Indian-owned, bore the brunt of British restrictions.

A dynamic figure on the Indian horizon in the early 1800's was an enlightened brāhmaṇ reformer from Bengal, Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Through the columns of *Sambad Kaumudi* (Bengali) and *Miratool Akbar* (Persian) he engaged in religious debate and propaganda for social reforms. He commented on the news of the day. He refuted the statements often made by the Christian missionaries of Serampore in their *Sumachar Durpan* and other publications. He described his editorial duties in the prospectus of *Miratool Akbar*:

> My only object is that I may lay before the public such articles of intelligence as may increase their experience, and tend to their social improvement; and that to that extent of my abilities, I may indicate to the Rulers a knowledge of the real situation of their subjects, and make the subjects acquainted with the established laws and customs of their Rulers: that the Rulers may the more readily find an opportunity of granting relief to the people; and the people may be put in possession of the means of obtaining protection and redress from their Rulers.

The Raja objected to the system of imposed licensing. His petition, the 'Areopagitica of the Indian Press,' stated:

> Every good Ruler, who is convinced of the imperfection of human nature, and reverences the Eternal Governor of the world, must be conscious of the great liability to error in managing the affairs of a vast empire; and therefore he will be anxious to afford to every individual the readiest means of bringing to his notice whatever may require his interference. To secure this important object, the unrestrained liberty of publication is the only effectual means that can be employed.

Indian editors faced numerous problems. On October 13, 1826 Hurree Hur Dutt, in a picturesque letter of application to the Officiating Secretary to Government in the Persian Department, humbly requested that his publication, Jami Jehan Numa, have the same postal privileges as the Serampore missionaries' newspapers:

> Impressed with the strongest conviction of the benevolent and philanthropic disposition of the Government in the most humane, laudable and honourable exertions that have been made and are making under their favourable auspices for the intellectual and moral improvement of their Native subject, and the lively interest that they so graciously take in the amelioration of the condition of those very subjects, I feel strongly assured that the solicitation which I am about to submit respectfully through your kind recommendation to the liberal and benevolent consideration of His Lordship the Vice-President in Council, will most assuredly be granted, as it has the tendency and scope of promoting the interests of literature.

At times Indian journalists and English authorities played games of hide and seek. On March 14 the Vernacular Press Act IX of 1878 (An Act for the Better Control of Publications in Oriental Languages) became law. This was aimed in particular at Calcutta's Amrita Bazar Patrika -- at least that was what owners of the bilingual paper believed. They rose to the occasion. The Patrika's first issue, after the Act was passed, appeared in English, thereby circumventing the ordinance. The Act was finally repealed in 1881.

Whether owned by the British planters or merchants, the English press, by and large, belonged to the British system and often served as a handmaid of colonialism. Those started by Indians were generally political, featuring writers who were a combination of social reformer, politician and journalist. What they produced were views-papers and not newspapers. There was, of course, a stray British editor like Robert Knight, first of Bombay Times (1858) and later of Bombay Standard, Times of India (1861), Indian Economist (Calcutta monthly, 1872), Friend of India (Serampore weekly, 1875), and the Statesman (Calcutta, 1875) who fought for liberal and humane policies, just as there was an occasional Indian newspaper such as the Bombay Samachar which was more concerned with the latest share prices than with the great issues of the day.

According to Shridharani and Jain:

> ...the pioneers of journalism did not so much want to satisfy the natural curiosity of man concerning his fellow men, as to use the power of the printed word to fight an alien authority and to combat the evils of Indian society.... News was incidental; the cause was the main thing.... No truly great leader or social

> reformer could do without being an editor. Raja Ram Mohan Roy ...used journalism for the abolition of Sati and the introduction of widow marriage. Tilak started a powerful Marathi daily; Ranade, Gokhale, Aurobindo Ghosh, C. R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, Subhas Bose--all were journalists at one time or another.[8]

Gandhi was a great editor of weeklies, Indian Opinion, Young India, Navajivan and and Harijan. For his 'seditious' writings he was arrested and imprisoned.

The enactments against freedom of expression were particularly acute in the early decades of the twentieth century, and they were not confined to British India. In the southern princely state of Travancore, the Malayala Manorama, that had been advocating literary progress since the late 19th century, was banned and its properties confiscated by a dictatorial dewan just before World War II for its vigorous nationalist approach. After the British left, and the dewan had been removed, the Malayala Manorama reappeared. In this case the confrontation was between a Hindu supporter of colonialism and the Christian owners of a leading local newspaper. Despite restrictive pressures, the bias of the Indian press continued to be nationalist and reform-minded.

By 1937, most of the newspapers and periodicals were Indian-owned, except for three dailies--the Times of India, the Statesman, and the Civil and Military Gazette --and a weekly, the Capital. Of these the Civil and Military Gazette (later of Pakistan) has closed down. The other two dailies have moved into Indian hands.

The British restrictions, especially in this century, seem to have operated in cycles: an agitation or uproar, followed by an official crack down and restrictive laws; then, as passions cooled, repealing or ignoring of the laws. Again, another clash and a barrage of controls. It was not always a cause and effect situation. An Indian printer and publisher could be readily prosecuted for bringing out something apparently innocuous, for example, articles on foreign affairs not too pleasing to His Majesty's Government. A Marathi daily, to cite one case, was taken to task for printing a simple narration of British relations with Afghanistan.

The Indian press came into its own with independence. The Indianization of the country's press was smooth. At present, except for the Bombay edition of the Reader's Digest and the British commercial weekly, Capital, from Calcutta, every publication in the country is Indian-owned. This contrasts with many Afro-Asian nations, where considerable ownership of newspapers and magazines is in foreign hands.

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[8] Krishnalal Shridharani (in collaboration with Prakash C. Jain), "The Journalist in India--a Study of the Press Corps," Center for International Studies, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, Communications Program B/56-3, 1956, pp. 3-4.

A. E. Charlton, the last British editor of the Statesman, retired March 22, 1967. With him ended a colorful chapter of Indian journalism begun by Hicky almost 200 years ago.

Freedom of the Press since Independence: Article 19 (a) of the Constitution of India says that 'All citizens shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression.' This covers the freedom of the press as well. The First Amendment to the Constitution empowered the legislatures to impose 'reasonable' restrictions 'in the interest of the security of the state, friendly relations with foreign states, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence.' 'Reasonableness' is a justiciable issue. The judiciary has been vigilant about it. In the judgment on the case of Sakal Papers (Private) Ltd. vs. Union of India, the Supreme Court maintained, 'The right to propagate one's idea is inherent in the conception of freedom of speech and expression. For the purpose of propagating his ideas every citizen has a right to publish them to disseminate them and to circulate them.'[9] The Sakal case questioned the validity of the price-page schedule enacted by the government. The Supreme Court declared the government to be in error.

The Defense of India Rules that were passed when China invaded India late in 1962 embody features detrimental to the freedom of the press. Though these Rules have been rarely applied, they are there like a Damocles sword, despite continued demands from journalists for their withdrawl. Ever since its enactment in the 1860's, the Press and Registration of Books Act has also served as a subtle censor. Merely the knowledge that his name and address are on file with the government may inhibit a newspaper editor from speaking out.

Off and on the government has been criticized for using its newspaper advertising to twist arms. One time the Bombay Government under Morarji Desai withheld its advertisements from the Times of India on the grounds, among others, that its criticisms of government were vituperative and actuated by malice. This produced even more criticism of the government. The fact that the press is generally quick to find fault with the government suggests that the government's advertising stick is not a very frightening one that is frequently used.

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9. Read P.N. Mehta, "The Law of Journalism" in Roland E. Wolseley (ed.), Journalism in Modern India, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, (rev. ed.) 1964, pp. 187-220. Joseph Minattur goes at length into the liberty of the press in India and the press laws of India in his Freedom of the Press in India: Constitutional Provisions and their Applications, The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1966.

Newsprint: On August 7, 1966 the Nagpur Times carried on its front page an announcement that began, 'Due to unforeseen delay in arrival of newsprint from Bombay, the Magazine Section could not be published along with the Sunday issue...' This reflects the acute problem of the newsprint shortage. The per capita annual consumption of newsprint in India is less than 0.3 kilograms, compared to America's nearly 37. Nine out of ten kilograms of newsprint used in India are imported. This involves scarce foreign exchange and, therefore, comes within the jurisdiction of the Government of India. The allocation of newsprint to various publications is on an intricately worked-out quota system, not entirely beyond criticism in its operational aspect, and one other form of leverage the government has over freedom of the press.

The indigenous newsprint, produced by Nepa Mills in Central India, is of inferior quality and more expensive than imported paper. Increasing quantities of ordinary white printing paper are now being tried by the newspapers.

As for newsprint cost, it is not uniform in various parts of the country and it is higher than prices abroad. In Kerala it costs $176 and in Bombay $170 for 100,000 copies of a single page. The comparable cost in Japan is $94.90 and in Hong Kong $94.07.

Big Business and the Press: Some Indians feel that big business poses a more serious threat than government does to freedom of the press. They point to the fact that more than two-thirds of the circulation of all dailies belong to owners controlling more than one newspaper (even these figures may be conservative). Circulation figures are almost always inflated in order to obtain more newsprint. The annual reports of the Registrar of Newspapers in India have described such things as false circulation figures, the financial involvement of newspapers with other industrial complexes, and the manipulation of newsprint. The variety of publications a single firm may own is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1 Publications Owned by Bennett Coleman and Co., Ltd., Bombay

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A. News Interest Papers: Ten papers, circulation 682,848

1. The Times of India (1950), English daily, Delhi.
2. The Times of India (1838), English daily, Bombay.
3. Evening News of India (1923), English daily, Bombay.
4. Navabharat Times (1950), Hindi daily, Delhi.
5. Navabharat Times (1950), Hindi daily, Bombay.
6. The Illustrated Weekly of India (1929), English weekly, Bombay.
7. Dharmayug (1950), Hindi weekly, Bombay.
8. Economic Times (1962), Marathi daily, Bombay.
9. Maharashtra Times (1962), Marathi daily, Bombay.
10. Dinaman (1965), Hindi weekly, Delhi.

Table 1 (continued)

B. Non-News Interest Papers: 11 papers, circulation 412,321

1. Filmfare (1952), English fortnightly, Bombay.
2. Femina (1959), English fortnightly, Bambay.
3. Parag (1958), Hindi monthly, Bombay.
4. Sarika (1960), Hindi monthly, Bombay.
5. Madhuri (1964), Hindi fortnightly, Bombay.
6. Indrajal Comics (1964), English monthly, Bombay.
7. Indrajal Comics (1964), Hindi monthly, Bombay.
8. Indrajal Comics (1964), Marathi monthly, Bombay.
9. Indrajal Comics (1964), Gujarati monthly, Bombay.
10. Indrajal Comics (1964), Tamil monthly, Bombay.
11. Indrajal Comics (1964), Malayalam monthly, Bombay.

Major Indian business families that have investments in the press include the Goenkas (Indian Express Group) and the Birlas (Hindustan Times Group).

The Mahalanobis Report on the Concentration of Economic Power in India said,

> Economic power is also exercised through control over mass media of communication.... One must take into account the link between industry and newspapers which exists in our country to a much larger extent than is found in any of the other democratic countries of the world.

Management: Despite the heavy involvement of big business in Indian journalism, other types of management do actively coexist, as listed below. Financial success and failure have been shared by all types.

1. Individual-owned, e.g., Pasban, 1946, Urdu daily, Bangalore (K. M. Azeem Autish).
2. Family business, e.g., Nav Bharat, 1939, Hindi daily, Nagpur (R. G. Maheshwari and others).
3. Joint-stock company, e.g., Basumati, 1914, Bengali daily, Calcutta (Basumati Private, Ltd.).
4. Trust, e.g., Janmabhoomi, 1914, Gujarati daily, Bombay (Saurashtra Trust).
5. Employees' co-operatives, e.g., National Herald, 1938, English daily, Lucknow (The Associated Journals, Ltd.).
6. Religious group, e.g., Deepika, 1887, Malayalam daily, Kottayam (St. Joseph's Province of the Carmelites of Mary Immaculate, Malabar).

7. Society, e.g., Samaj, 1919, Oriya daily, Cuttack (Servants of the People Society).
8. Political party, e.g., Navajeevan, 1953, Malayalam daily, Trichur, (District Council of the Communist Party of India).

The total number of publications owned by various political parties was 67 in 1965. The Indian National Congress owned 33 of these (3 dailies), the Communist Party of India 18 (4 dailies) and the Praja Socialist Party 6. The combined circulation of political party publications for which data were available was 93,565 (Communists, 42,230; Congress, 32,785; Socialists, 11,040).

Cost: How much does it cost to start a newspaper in India? The answer depends on where one wants to begin and with what kind of paper. The major cities have their share of big and small publications; in fact, they may not be able to support any more. The Bharat Group of newspapers, started soon after Indian independence, despite the support of financial wizards like Walchand Hirachand and the blessings of powerful personalities like the late Sardar Patel, had to fold up.

Estimated costs for a metropolitan daily, as figured by the Times of India Group, are around \$350,000 for an English edition and \$250,000 for a Hindi edition. According to the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference, a monthly 24-page journal, 10½" x 8½" at 1960 rates, with no press of its own, would need \$3,600 a year, excluding the salary of the editor.

A publication must keep going for six months before a newsprint quota is allotted to it. Advertisers are rarely interested in a publication unless it has a circulation of at least 5,000 copies. In these circumstances it seems easier for a well-established newspaper publishing company to start a new venture than for a freshman publisher.

The smallest base for possible survival of a daily varies from state to state. There are small towns like Quilon, in Kerala, with a population less than 100,000 but with many dailies and weeklies. There are other towns of the same size with no daily. However, one might say that as a rule a community with over 50,000 people could support a four- to six-page vernacular daily.

Training: The first formal training for journalism was attempted in the 1920's at the National University, Adyar (Madras) but was discontinued after a few years. The oldest regular and continuing journalism department began in 1941 in Lahore (now Pakistan), moved during Partition to Delhi, and is now at the Punjab University, Chandigarh.

The British heritage of slighting journalism as an academic subject and the apathy of many Indian journalists have contributed to the absence of significant strides in education for journalism. In 1966 there were only about ten different programs in India wherein an aspiring journalist could receive training.

Agencies such as the Press Institute of India and the Indian Institute of Mass Communication have recently started training at different levels. While the PII is primarily concerned with working newspapermen, the IIMC is limited to government personnel of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Some individual newspapers like The Hindu or The Times of India Group have their own training programs, still mostly traditional. None of these groups is likely to take seriously to research; for that, India will have to depend on its universities.[10]

Professional Organizations: There are scores of local, regional and national press organizations in India. Among the most important are the Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, the Indian Federation of Working Journalists, the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference, the Indian Languages Newspaper Association, and the Indian Association for Education in Journalism.

The IENS, founded in 1939, is an association of newspaper publishers and proprietors. Its main aim is to promote and safeguard the newspaper publishing interests. The ILNA, founded in 1941, is a proprietors' organization of newspapers or periodicals published in Indian languages. The A-INEC represents the newspaper editors and the IFWJ the working journalists. The IAEJ, founded in 1956, has broadly similar aims and objectives to those of the Association for Education in Journalism in the U.S.A.

Press Council: One of the major recommendations in the 1954 report of the Press Commission was the establishment of a press council. Ideas for such an agency had come from the U.K. and other countries. Its setting up was delayed till late 1966 because of the conflicts of interest between the proprieters, editors, working journalists and other groups that make Indian journalism.

The press council, as organized now, is a statutory body financed by the central government. Its 25 members are drawn from editors (without managerial interest) of English and Indian newspapers in equal proportion, newspaper owners, working journalists, members of Parliament and scholars.

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[10] See "A Quarter Century of University Education," by K. E. Eapen for an up-to-date discussion of training programs, Gazette, XII, 4 (December, 1966), pp. 302-315.

Its broad purposes are to safeguard the freedom of the press, to raise standards of journalism and to censure erring editors.

News Agencies: In 1860, the first news agency service started in India when the *Bombay Times* began to receive Reuters news by mail. In 1878 Reuters set up its own Bombay office. Historically, Reuters' object in India was to provide market information to merchants and commercial houses. Its communication facilities were limited, and transmission charges exhorbitant; nonetheless Englishmen in India were happy about the service because it kept them informed of happenings at home.

The first Indian news agency, the Associated Press of India, was formed in 1910, with the backing of K. C. Roy. Other news agencies such as the Free Press of India and the United Press of India followed. At first they depended on the Telegraph Department for news transmission. It was as late as 1937 before the provincial towns were linked with a teleprinter system. Gradually the whole country was covered with an additional network of teleprinter lines, services improved, and agencies began to expand.

With the coming of independence, India was one of the few nations that could consider establishing its own news service. Steps were taken to create the Press Trust of India as a national news agency, and on February 1, 1949 the entire Indian business of Reuters was handed over to the PTI. For information about the leading Indian news agencies, see Table 2:

Table 2 India's Three Leading News Agencies

Name with headquarters	Date of establishment	Form of Ownership	Languages in which service is rendered
The Press Trust of India, Ltd. (PTI, Bombay)	1947 (re-formed in 1949)	Public Limited Co., shares being limited to owners of newspapers in India subscribing to the service.	English
Hindustan Samachar (HS, New Delhi)	1948	Co-operative society organized by workers of the agency.	Hindi, English, Urdu, Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Gujarati, Malayalam, and Punjabi
United News of India (UNI, New Delhi)	1959	Public Limited Co., shares being limited to owners of newspapers in India.	English

Source: *Press in India 1966*, p. 118.

There are about 550 subscribers for these three agencies. In 1965 PTI had 383, HS 98 and UNI 62. The total number of subscribers in India is over a thousand, of which some 150 are government agencies, 125 commercial concerns and 25 individuals. In addition to these three major news agencies, there are many minor ones catering primarily to regional publications. The leading news agency, PTI, covers the whole of India and has 15 reporters abroad. Its 54 offices in the country are linked by a 31,000-kilometer teleprinter network. It has reciprocal arrangements with Reuters (England), UPI (U.S.A.), and Agence France-Press (France), while UNI has similar arrangements with AP (America). The UNI also has arrangements with the DPA (West Germany) and TANJUG (Yugoslavia) to receive foreign news from them.

The news agency Samachar Bharati was recently formed with considerable government financings to supply news primarily to Hindi clients. It supplements the work that agencies like Hindustan Samachar have been trying to do in original reporting and service in Indian languages to save subscribers the problems of translation.

Feature syndicates are newcomers to India. Currently there are about a dozen of them, the leading one of which is the India News and Feature Alliance (INFA, New Delhi) established in 1959. At the present, INFA operates on a national level, in seven languages, with over 100 subscribers.

Contents: Indian newspapers, though containing fewer pages than most American dailies, offer the same general type of fare that papers usually do in other free countries. The results of an analysis of 16 dailies for March 20, 1964, by the Press Institute of India, are indicative (see Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6). Ten of the papers were in English; the others were in four different Indian languages: Bengali, Kannada, Malayalam, and Marathi. They were published from ten different cities, large and small, in different parts of the country.

Table 3 English Language Newspapers
Advertising, News and Pictures

Newspaper (City)	Circulation, '64	No. of pages	Advertising %	News (Non-ad content) %	Pictures (as % non-ad content)
Hindu, (Madras)	141,708	12	61	39	5
Times of India, (Bombay)	139,997	16	64	36	6
Hindustan Standard, (Calcutta)	50,306	10	28	72	10
Deccan Herald, (Bangalore)	41,209	8	45	55	7
Indian Nation, (Patna)	33,257	8	21	79	5
Indian Express, (New Delhi)	61,494	10	32	68	7
Patriot, (New Delhi)	28,440	8	15	85	11
Amrita Bazar Patrika, (Calcutta)	104,404	10	38	62	11
National Herald, (Lucknow)	20,786	8	27	73	11
Hindustan Times, (New Delhi)	113,557	16	59	41	7
Average:	73,516	10.6	39	61	8

Source: "One Day in the Indian Press," Vidura, I, 4, pp. 2-4; Press in India 1965, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. (For this table and the following three)

Table 4

Indian Language Newspapers
Advertising, News and Pictures

Newspaper (City)	Circulation, '64 (Language)	No. of pages	Advertising %	News (Non-ad content)	Pictures (as % non-ad content)
Malayala Manorama, (Kottayam)	152,056 (Malayalam)	6	41	59	10
Maharashtra Times, (Bombay)	60,979 (Marathi)	6	28	72	6
Samyukta Karnataka, (Hubli)	33,824 (Kannada)	8	37	63	3
Mathrubhumi, (Calicut)	92,863 (Malayalam)	6	42	58	7
Prajavani, (Bangalore)	60,591 (Kannada)	8	40	60	5
Ananda Bazar Patrika, (Calcutta)	161,809 (Bengali)	10	48	52	10
Average:	93,687	7.3	39	61	7

Table 5

English Language Newspapers
Percentage of Non-advertising Space Devoted to Various Categories of Content

Newspaper (State)	Pol.	Econ.	Soc., Cul., Edu.	Sport	Legal	Edit.-Opinion	Misc.
Hindu, (Madras)	31	18	13	13	1	20	4
Times of India, (Maharashtra)	26	30	18	11	2	13	*
Hindustan Standard, (West Bengal)	31	17	20	14	3	12	3
Deccan Herald, (Mysore)	37	22	16	12	1	9	3
Indian Nation, (Bihar)	23	21	25	14	-	14	2
Indian Express, (Delhi)	40	16	13	11	6	14	1
Patriot, (Delhi)	28	18	28	10	1	14	1
Amrita Bazar Patrika, (West Bengal)	41	18	9	14	1	13	3
National Herald, (Utter Pradesh)	47	12	10	13	4	8	6
Hindustan Times, (Delhi)	34	27	12	8	6	10	3
Average:	34	20	16	12	3	13	3

* denotes less than 0.5%

Table 6 Indian Language Newspapers

Percentage of Non-advertising Space Devoted to Various Categories of Content

Newspaper (State)	Pol.	Econ.	Soc., Cul., Edu.	Sport	Legal	Edit.- Opinion	Misc.
Malayala Manorama, (Kerala)	45	8	34	2	*	10	2
Maharashtra Times, (Maharashtra)	24	15	29	8	-	23	1
Samyukta Karnataka, (Mysore)	40	19	20	-	-	16	4
Mathrubhumi, (Kerala)	49	10	25	4	-	7	5
Prajavani, (Mysore)	30	18	25	2	-	19	5
Ananda Bazar Patrika, (West Bengal)	35	5	25	10	3	16	5
Average:	37	13	26	4	1	15	4

* denotes less than 0.5%

News was divided into political, economic, social-cultural-educational, sport, and legal categories and the space devoted to each category was measured separately. Space devoted to editorial opinion was also measured. Items like the weather chart, the "Thought for Today," and the masthead were included in a miscellanious category. It was found that: (1) Leading English language and Indian language papers do not vary significantly in the average ratio of advertisements, news and pictures. Both English papers and Indian language papers differ among themselves;compare the Times of India with the Patriot, the Maharashtra Times with Ananda Bazar Patrika.
(2) The amount of political news, though often the largest category, occupies on the average only about one-third the amount of non-advertising space in both English and Indian language papers. Once again, the English papers and the Indian language papers differ among themselves; compare the National Herald with the Times of India, Mathrubhumi with the Maharashtra Times.
(3) The amount of pictorial content of leading Indian newspapers is small.

Another type of breakdown of contents is reflected in table 7:

Table 7 Political Content of Three Nagpur Dailies

Newspaper	News (percentage)			Editorials (number)		
	International	National	Regional	International	National	Regional
Nagpur Times, (English)	24.8	56.3	18.9	10	12	8
Navabharat, (Hindi)	14.5	68.0	17.5	7	15	8
Maharashtra, (Marathi)	14.3	63.3	22.4	8	20	2

Source: K. E. Eapen, "Content Analysis of Three Nagpur Dailies," *The Hislop Journalist*, No. 2 (1962), pp. 43-44.

Nagpur at the time of this study had a population of over 700,000 with six dailies: two in English, two in Hindi and two in Marathi, all under different ownership. All these circulated primarily in Nagpur and its immediately surrounding area. Despite the regional character of these papers, less than a quarter of their news space was devoted to regional (including local) news.

Advertisements: A third of the space in smaller newspapers and about half that of larger ones is taken by advertisements. Indian newspaper advertisements pay about $30 million a year, compared to Japan's nearly $350 million. Prior to 1967 India had no radio advertising, since All India Radio, like the B.B.C., did not carry ads. Early in 1967 the government changed its policy to permit the broadcasting of a few carefully-screened commercials. In the beginning, many of the nationalist papers were not enamored by advertising and made no special effort to solicit it. To the Indian editors and owners such soliciting bordered on begging. Kirloskars, one of India's leading engineering industries, frequently had the experience of sending money orders to *Kesari* of Poona as advance charges for unsought advertising--only to have the money order returned without comment. Mahatma Gandhi's various periodicals never entertained advertisements though they could have obtained almost any price for them.

During World War II, in a campaign to boost war effort, the British government picked up a quotation from Rabindranath Tagore and used it with his picture. Many Bengali papers refused to run the ad. More recently, government advertisements suggesting balanced diets that included fish were rejected for publication by certain strict vegetarians like the Jains. To get the ad printed, the government had to change some of its art and copy to stress the value of vegetables in balanced diets. Papers owned by Sikhs, a bearded religious group, have at times refused ads for razor blades.

The Government of India, through its Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity, is one of the biggest Indian advertisers today. Its uses vary from the classified columns (such as legal notices or the Union Public Service Commission job offers) to display ads (steel mills in the public sector, Indian Airlines Corporation, National Savings Certificates). The total outlay for central government advertising is an estimated $3 million, a little more than a third of which is spent on newspapers. In recent years half of the newspaper ads, by policy, have gone to the smaller dailies.

India is the target of considerable international advertising from the U.S.A., Europe, Australia and Japan. However, Indian newspapers and magazines rarely benefit from this, since most of this advertising appears in the Asian editions of American magazines like _Newsweek_, _Reader's Digest_ and _Time_. This type of advertising has grown at the rate of approximately 40 per cent during the five-year period 1962-66. Three American and one Asian magazine earn as much as $5 million annually from such ads.

One of the leading advertising firms in India is the Everest Advertising Agency, founded by A. M. Patel in 1946 as the first profit-sharing co-operative organization of its kind. Some of the major foreign advertisement agencies like J. Walter Thompson operate in India; Colgate is believed to make more profit in India than in America. The Western influence in advertising is obvious in terms of both illustrations and copy. Today there is a growing indigenous advertising industry.

To an American, perhaps the most unusual advertising in the Indian press appears in the 'matrimonial' section of the 'classified advertisements.' Such matrimonials frequently include the caste, salary, and language background of the customer as well as the frankest statement of desirable attributes for those answering the ad, for example:

> Wanted a pretty, intermediate or graduate girl of 22/23 years, for a Punjabi Arora bachelor, 29 years, middle class family, serving as a senior Draughtsman, drawing Rs. 500 per month [about $66] in a reputed engineering firm. Girl's merits main consideration. Simple marriage. Full particulars to Box 27551-M.[11]

As in Germany, only an infinitesimally small number of parents--or their sons or daughters--resort to advertisement columns for arranging marriages.[12] However, there is no evidence that marriages arranged through matrimonial ads work out any less happily than those arranged through more traditional methods.

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[11] Vincent S. Jones, "The Press in Today's Most Populous Democracy," _Gannetteer_, January 1967, p. 10.

Reporting: Indian journalism is perhaps best at reporting speeches verbatim, an art in which stenographer-cum-reporters have excelled for 50 years. During the freedom struggle, speech reporting made it possible for the messages of Gandhi and Nehru to reach the people. Even after independence, this trend continued. In an effort to reduce verbatim speech reporting, Indian reporters have begun looking for the news angle, interpreting, digging out facts, and covering non-political grounds.

The tempo of reporting is slower in India than it is in the U.S.A. There is little competition from radio, and none from television. Few newspapers depend on daily street sales for survival. Most of them have large chunks of permanent subscribers.

Even in the same paper there is not much competition among news items, as there often is in an American daily produced for an audience looking for banner headlines. The following single-column story, 'Sobers Engaged to Indian Actress,' was buried in page 10, column 3, bottom half of the Delhi edition of the Statesman dated January 7, 1967:

> Calcutta, Jan. 6 -- Gary Sobers, the West Indies Cricket team captain, today confirmed here his engagement to Miss Anju Mahendru, a 17-year-old budding star of the Hindi screen, says PTI.
>
> Replying to questions by reporters at Dum Dum airport here, Sobers, holding the hand of Miss Mahendru, showed the engagement ring and asked: 'Do you want any more confirmation?'
>
> Sobers said their romance began when he met Miss Mahendru during the first Test against India at Bombay last month.
>
> Miss Mahendru, who hails from Punjab and is now settled in Bombay, was a model and stage actress before entering the films world recently. She is the niece of music director Madan Mohan and is acting in three films--Uski Kahani, Road to Sikkim, and Sangharsh--now under production.

An American parallel would be the captain of an all-English football team that beat an all-American team once in Los Angeles and once in New York, announcing in

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[12] For a study dealing with the implications of change in newspaper ads for marriage partners in Madras City, as appearing in the Hindu 1936-61, see Amelia Reyes-Hockings, "The Newspaper as a Surrogate Marriage Broker in Madras," Journalism Abstracts, IV, 131 (1966).

New York his engagement to an American movie queen. Here is a human interest story of the first magnitude--one that should catch the interest of most newspaper readers. Yet it is buried out of sight on the sports page! The Statesman may argue that it is trying not to be sensational. But Sobers is one of the greatest of cricketeers, with millions of Indian fans among those who read the Statesman, and a Hollywood-type engagement is quite unusual, even among Indian movie stars. From the news angle, the story could have been handled quite differently.

There is a certain amount of specialized reporting in Indian journalism. Sport is one area of special interest, especially among the younger generation. The bigger dailies have special sport pages, carrying regular 'Sportuguese.' Others find news holes as and when important sports events take place, like Indians playing the Davis Cup tennis finals in Australia, or Indians beating the Pakistani hockey team in Bangkok at the Asian Olympics.

Commercial information was very much part of early journalism. In some languages such as Gujarati, economic and financial news has special interest because of regional commercial interests. There are special English dailies like the Financial Express and the Economic Times that deal mainly with news of this type.

Before Independence, much of the journalism on economics depicted India's poverty, analyzed the causes behind it, and stressed how things would change once foreign rule ended. Today India is in a stage of planned development. Frequently the political news and views in the country have an economic bias. The financial dailies as well as the commercial pages of other papers often reflect the aspirations for progress.

Despite India's predominant agrarian economy, there is hardly any Indian daily with a full-time agricultural reporter. Some important changes in the country are happening at the rural level: the building of rural roads, the use of fertilizers, and experiments with new agricultural implements, better farm methods, improved seeds, and new breeds of cattle and poultry. Analysis of newspaper content has shown that these seldom are reported and commented upon.

In one of the International Press Institute seminars in Delhi, scientists and economists criticized the press for its failure to build bridges between new ideas and the masses. There is a chain of national laboratories in the country. Universities are involved in significant research. An estimated 5,000 highly qualified Indians, many of them with Ph.D. degrees, are doing scientific work abroad. They are rarely mentioned in the Indian press. What is covered is, again, speeches delivered at science conventions, but not the work of scientists per se and their areas of interest and research. One hopeful sign has been the establishment in 1966 of an All-India Science Writers' Association with headquarters in Delhi. Its membership is open to all those connected with science writing, publishing, broadcasting, films and education. The association is bringing out a periodical called Science Writer.

Letters to the Editor: Just as the American dailies, most Indian newspapers have letters to the editor columns as a regular feature. The bigger English dailies allot more space for letters than others. A quick check shows that these dailies publish on the average some five letters every day, each taking about five column-inches. The letters can deal with almost any topic. It is not rare to see a lengthy debate, for example, on the correct usage of 'under the circumstances' and 'in the circumstances.' Or a stray letter in one paper on a swimming pool marked 'Europeans only' may spark enough chain reaction in many dailies so that it will be non-segregated. Or the subject of the letter may be nothing more serious than the setting of the annual rose show, as in Mrs. Hem Bhatia's letter to the Delhi Statesman of December 16, 1966:

> Sir, The cramped and dusty corner where the winter Rose Show was held does little credit to the 'Rose Society of India'. Even the roses seemed to have lost their lustre in the dreary atmosphere. Surely the beautiful roses could be provided a better and broader setting for display.

Some Additional Characteristics: The first impression most foreigners have about the Indian press is its seriousness and lack of sensationalism. Another is the big gap between the best and the rest. The Statesman, Delhi edition, is compared by many Americans to the Washington Post, and the Hindu by many Englishmen to the Times, London. There are half a dozen high-quality English dailies, and some 25 papers in various Indian languages, that consistently meet the standards of quality journalism. Many others will have to consume rivers of printer's ink before meeting the minimum requirements of most dailies in the U. S. A.

Some visitors to India have commented on how similar the contents of the papers are. It is true that the bigger English dailies subscribe to the same news agencies and receive the same type of handouts from government or commercial sources. These are the papers the foreigners read and upon which they base their opinions. But, if one analyzes the Indian language papers in Bengal and Gujarat, or in Maharashtra and Kerala, one will discover marked differences in content.

There are not yet any canned editorials in India. In style, seriousness of purpose and individuality, the editorials that appear are generally of a high quality. One of the American editors attending the International Press Institute's World Assembly, November 1966, reported that in India,

> editorials tend to be learned, elegant, and long--often running a full column or more--but they are forceful. There are many vigorous letters to the editor. Bylined feature articles also are highly readable.... The Indian press is vigorous and free.

If a visitor happens to be in India at the season of examination results, endless columns of numbers may stare at him from newspaper pages. University and school authorities have to see that these results are made available simultaneously to all the papers of the region involved. Newspapers, on their part, are obliged to print the correct numbers of successful candidates. Occasional tragedies occur. Cases have been reported of students committing suicide because the printer's devil had mistakenly declared them flunked when they had actually passed.

English Language Papers: Immediately following Indian independence in 1947, many commentators predicted the doom of the English press. Nothing of the sort happened. Both in number of publications and in extent of circulation, English dailies are ahead of the others. See Table 8.

Table 8 Newspaper Circulation in Three Languages, 1965

Language	Population using the language (million)	No. of dailies	No. of dailies, circulation over 100,000	Circulation of dailies (million)	% of total circulation of all dailies	Increase over 1964 circulation, %
English	15-	56	6	1.536	25	6.1
Hindi	200+	148	1	0.836	13	6.4
Malayalam	19-	40	2	0.712	12	4.7

English is taught today in all schools, at around Junior High level. Its current status is that of associate national language, along with Hindi. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that English newspapers will continue to grow along with newspapers in the regional languages.

English papers from the metropolitan cities are trying to compete among themselves for improved national circulations. A paper like the Statesman has two printing plants; another, the Indian Express, six. The Hindu, instead of going for additional points of publication, is trying another approach. It has a fleet of four Heron aircraft of its own to fly copies of the paper to neighboring states like Kerala, Mysore and Andhra Pradesh. At the points of air delivery, special arrangements exist for rushing copies to various destribution points in these states. These arrangements enable the paper to reach many of its readers in south India at about the same time it reaches readers in Madras City, where it is published. To reach other parts of India, the Hindu makes extensive use of regular flights of the Indian Airlines Corporation.

Indian Language Papers: The main wire services run their stories in English. The English papers can take these stories, edit them, add headlines, and rush them to the composing rooms for printing. For the Indian language papers it is not so simple. Once they have the stories, they must get them translated before they are ready for the printer. Not only does this make for delay, it also provides considerable room for error. Some of the terms used in wire service copy or in English handouts may not be easily translated, or may be unintelligible to the translator, sometimes with ludicrous results. A story dealing with the washing away of 'railroad sleepers' on the banks of the Ganges river was imaginatively translated as the washing away of sleeping human beings on pilgrimage!

English papers are normally composed and printed in 5-6 point type. The Indian languages have to use 12-14 point type because of the distinct characteristics of their letters. A single column of print in English, when translated, spills over 2½ -3 columns of local languages. Mechanical printing like lino- or mono-type is still rare among most non-English papers. Where such printing is used, it is still time-consuming compared to English because of the larger number of keys required for lino-mono operations.

Labor is considered cheaper in India, but not in newspaper composing. It is estimated that a Japanese daily needs 15.35 man hours to compose and set a standard newspaper page in ideographic characters. An Indian language counterpart is theoretically worked out to be 16.10 man hours, though often in practice it takes as long as 20 hours.

Small-town Dailies: In 1966 the New York Times used approximately twice as much newsprint as all Indian publications, including non-dailies, used during the same year. Obviously the Indian press has room for expansion. Of the 525 daily newspapers in 20 different languages, only 26 have circulation above 50,000 copies; 245 have circulations below 5,000.

The Diwaker Committee[13] defines a small paper as one with a circulation not exceeding 20,000 and with an annual revenue under Rs. 1,250,000 (about $167,000). This means that most of the Indian dailies are 'small.' It may be noted that 'small' papers do not necessarily come from small towns. Zungar (circulation about 3,000) of Bombay City, for example, is a six-evening-a-week Marathi newspaper with a total full-time staff of one.[14] It has been published since 1956.

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[13] Report of the Enquiry Committee on Small Newspapers, New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1965, p. 14.

A large number of separately owned small-town papers dispersed over India would perhaps be ideal for nourishing an infant democracy. However, there are many obstacles to the growth of such journalism, from limited finances to a lack of people willing to enter the profession. Suggestions that have been put forth in recent years to overcome these obstacles include:[15] a minimum price at which daily papers of a particular size can be sold; proportionate distribution of government advertising in provincial and district papers; subsidized newsprint during the early years of a newspaper's life; low-cost newswire or radio news service; long-term, low-interest loans for machinery purchase; and expanded journalism training facilities. Even if all these suggestions were followed, certain restrictions would remain on how large small-town papers might grow. As most of them are in a regional language, they can find few markets outside their own linguistic area. For example, all 40 of Kerala's dailies are in the state language, Malayalam.

Periodicals: Weeklies have a history of nearly 200 years in the Indian sub-continent. Past English language successors to Hicky's Gazette have included: Asiatic Mirror, Bengal Journal, Bombay Herald, Calcutta Chronicle, Indian Gazette, Madras Courier, Oriental Magazine. Today there are periodicals in 43 different languages published in various parts of the country, with at least one weekly in every major language.

Some of these journals are aimed at general audiences, national or regional. Others are meant for specific readers such as children, women, farmers, intellectuals, and scientists. All together there are about 7,300 diverse journals, ranging from weeklies to annuals, with a total circulation of 15.2 million (1965). Table 9 describes the important categories of periodicals, with the total number in each category and the title with the highest circulation.

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[14] Edwin A. Hirschmann, "The One-man Newspaper," IPI Report, X, 3 (July, 1961), pp. 3, 4.

[15] L. R. Nair, "Private Press in National Development -- the Indian Example," in Lerner and Schramm, op. cit., pp. 177-178.

Table 9 Periodicals in India

Category	Number	Highest circulation and title	
News and current affairs	2,227	199,384	Blitz News Magazine (English weekly, Bombay)
Literary and cultural	1,142	315,243	Kumudam (Tamil weekly, Madras)
Religion and philosophy	990	139,050	Kalyan (Hindi monthly, Gorakhpur)
Commerce and industry	346	11,479	Indian Standard Institute Bulletin (English monthly, Delhi)
Social Welfare	287	27,078	Nai Talim (Hindi monthly, Varanasi)
Films	269	125,329	Filmfare (English fortnightly, Bombay)
Labor	166	13,100	Simpson Group Sanganatham (Tamil monthly, Madras)
Education	173	12,529	Shikshak (Bengali monthly, Calcutta)
Agriculture and animal husbandry	156	43,300	Intensive Agriculture (English monthly, Delhi)
Children	121	121,274	Kalkandu (Tamil weekly, Madras)
Science	82	5,666	Vigyan Pragati (English monthly, Delhi)
Women	65	76,379	Femina (English fortnightly, Bombay)
Sports	38	35,928	Sport and Pastime (English weekly, Madras)
Radio and music	36	60,900	Betar Jagat (Bengali fortnightly, Calcutta)

Source: Press in India 1966, p. 135

Not included among these periodicals are the more than 2,000 school and college magazines, market reports, publicity journals and house organs and other miscellaneous publications. Their total circulation is over three million. The English monthly of the Asia Publishing House, Asia Bulletin, for example, has a circulation of about 20,000 copies; the English quarterly Firestone News, has a circulation of over 16,000. An educational Tamil monthly like Guru-kulam (10,000 copies), or the English monthly Astrological Magazine (about 13,000) are also not included in the categories in Table 6. The various regular publications brought out by the diplomatic missions in India, with a combined circulation of 1.25 million, are also excluded from Table 6. The USSR has 40 of them (English 7, Bengali, Hindi, Assamese, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Tamil and Telugu 3 each, Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi and Urdu 2 each, Nepali 1); the U.S.A. has 12 (English 5, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Malayalam, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu 1 each).

According to the Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers, in 1965 there were 7,332 regular publications brought out once a week or at longer intervals. With a combined estimated circulation of over 20 million, they showed an increase of nearly 25 per cent over the 1960 figures. See Table 10 for their divisions according to periodicity.

Table 10 Indian Periodicals, by Periodicity

Periodicity	Number	Circulation (million)*
Weeklies	2,141	6.335
Fortnightlies	807	1.240
Monthlies	3,302	6.727
Quarterlies	695	0.515
Bimonthlies, Half-yearlies, etc.	270	0.244
Annuals	117	0.188
Total:	7,332	15.244

* Figures relate to only 4,630 publications for which data were available to the Registrar of Newspapers

Source: Press in India 1966, p. 130

English language claimed the largest circulation of periodicals in 1965 with 1,669 periodicals (circulation 3.965 million), followed by 1,527 Hindi periodicals (circulation 3.93 million) and Tamil, with 377 periodicals (circulation 1.832 million).

The following weeklies and monthlies circulated over 100,000 copies in 1965:

Table 11 High Circulation Weeklies and Monthlies

Kumudam (Tamil), Madras	315,243	weekly
Malayala Manorama Weekly (Malayalam), Kottayam	226,058	weekly
Blitz News Magazine (English), Bombay	199,384	weekly
Vaarantri Rani (Tamil), Madras	152,691	weekly
Kalyan (Hindi), Gorakhpur	139,050	monthly
Reader's Digest (English), Bombay	138,696	monthly
Andhra Prabha Illustrated Weekly (Telugu), Madras	134,271	weekly
Filmfare (English), Bombay	125,329	fortnightly
Kalkandu (Tamil), Madras	121,274	weekly
Dharmayug (Hindi), Bombay	111,956	weekly
Kalki (Tamil), Madras	103,846	weekly

More than half of these high circulation publications are in three south Indian Dravidian languages (Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu), three are in English (the first, a sensational weekly; the second, the Bombay edition of the most widely circulated American monthly; the third, a movie magazine) and only two are in Hindi. None of these high circulation publications are in other regional languages, not even Bengali or Gujarati, with their generally well-developed journalism.

At the end of 1965, there were 396 periodicals, brought out by the various government departments, both in English and in Indian languages, 227 from the central government and 169 from the combined state governments with a combined circulation of about half a million.

Books: The history of book publication parallels that of other printing media. The Christian missionaries brought the early printing presses to India and published the first titles. Even today the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta is one of the top quality commercial printers.

The Press and Registration of Books Act of 1867 brought publication under government surveillance by requiring all printers to register with a Magistrate and to deposit a copy of all books published with a Registrar of Books. Since then, the book printing business has grown. In 1965-66 India brought out one new book for every 7,000 of her literates. Of the 20,185 titles, more than half (10,347) were in English.

As part of an effort to acquaint Indians with their own heritage, as well as to appeal to foreign markets, a number of firms have brought out reissues of major works on Indian civilization. Susil Gupta (India) Private Ltd. of Calcutta has reprinted a number of classics such as S. Beal's Chinese Accounts of India and Max Müller's writings on Indian philosophy, as well as the multi-volume A History of India as Told by Its Own Historians edited by Elliott and Dawson. Motilal Banarsidass of Delhi has started reprinting volumes from Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East series as well as such classics as Macdonnell's A History of Sanskrit Literature and Winternitz's History of Indian Literature. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (the Institute of Indian Culture) in Bombay has selected and published in different languages, including English, a series of books promoting Indian art, philosophy, and culture. The Navajivan Publishing House in Ahmedabad has specialized in the writings of Gandhi and the Sarvodaya movement. And the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has undertaken numerous book projects including the preparation of a multi-volume history of India's independence movement and a proposed over-50 volume definitive collection of Gandhi's works.

A number of British publishers, like Oxford University Press, have publishing outlets in India or have established some affiliate relationships such as exist between Orient Longmans Ltd. in India and Longmans, Green and Co. in London. While there are big Indian publishing ventures like the Asia Publishing House in Bombay, with branches in London and New York, most of the publishing industry is at a smaller, regional level. As with American publishers, certain Indian firms tend to specialize in particular types of work. Thus Popular Prakashan of Bombay specializes in sociology and anthropology; whereas Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay of Calcutta concentrates on classical religions and history, especially economic history.

The division of India into linguistic states, the expansion of education on all levels including the expansion of English, the spread of literacy in regional vernaculars, and the self-conscious renaissance of regional literature under the stimulus of political parties have all contributed to the growth of the book industry in India. Regardless of the literary quality of current publications, the flow of books is bound to act as a catalyst in efforts to modernize the nation.

A unique promotion venture of creative writers in India has been the 'Sahitya Pravarthaka (literary workers) Co-operative Society' of Kerala. It was founded in 1945 by a dozen writers in Malayalam with the object of: (1) eliminating the difficulties experienced by writers in publishing their works, (2) guaranteeing fair royalties, (3) conducting effective sales promotion, and (4) stabilizing the writing profession.[16] During its early years it paid one of the highest royalties ever offered to writers anywhere, nearly 60 per cent. Now it is among the top ten co-operatives in India, with its own printing press, about 400 members, and a subscribed shared capital of $70,000. So far it has printed over 2,600,000 copies of 1,800 titles including biographies, children's books, criticism, dictionaries, novels, scientific works, short story collections and travelogues. Today it is the biggest bookseller with its own organization, the National Book Stall, and a sales list that includes every title published in Malayalam. Its periodical, the N.B.S. Bulletin, has a circulation of over 10,000 copies. It occasionally holds exhibitions and conducts seminars on book production problems, and it has helped found a book installment scheme whereby books may be ordered cheaply by mail.

A similar though more modest experiment has been tried in Andhra Pradesh with the Home Library Plan. Many members of the Plan come from villages with populations under 2,000. Before joining, some of them never owned a book--not even in Telugu, their mother tongue.

Another interesting experiment is the Southern Languages Book Trust, supported by UNESCO and the Ford Foundation. The Trust translates vernacular books into other regional languages. For example, the Trust may translate a successful Malayalam children's book into Tamil, Telugu and Kannada. In this way a writer can reach a wider audience than he could if he were confined exclusively to those knowing his regional language.

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[16] T. V. Kunhi Krishna, "The SPCS, Kerala," UNESCO Newsletter, Karachi: Regional Center for Reading Materials, VIII, 1-2-3 (October, 1966), p. 11.

The Government of India has been encouraging the production of books of all kinds, including specialized publications for children and neo-literates. Annual awards are made, and are often presented by the President of India in person, to the authors of writings of various sorts judged best in the different regional languages. In 1966 an organization called Gnanapith (seat of learning), Calcutta established a writer's prize. Its first award went to G. Sankara Kurup, a Kerala poet, for his Odakkuzhal (Flute). It was adjudged the best Indian literary work published between 1925 and 1955. The prize was the equivalent of $13,333 (Rs. 100,000), a large amount in India.

It is sometimes said that the common reader in the U.S.A., when he sees a good book, asks where he can buy it; whereas in India such a reader asks where he can borrow it. Good libraries do not abound in India; for example there is no Indian equivalent of the Library of Congress. However, there are many small libraries and reading rooms, some of which have fair collections. In Bombay alone there are over 400 libraries. The oldest library is that of the Asiatic Society, established in 1804. Currently it holds some 403,000 volumes and 5,500 periodicals.

BROADCASTING

The pioneering effort in broadcasting was launched by the Madras Presidency Radio Club in 1924 and abandoned for financial reasons in 1927. That same year the Indian Broadcasting Co., a private firm, embarked on a new venture with two stations in Bombay and Calcutta and two journals, The Indian Radio Times (English) and Betar Jagat (Bengali). This venture also was not a financial success and went into liquidation in 1930. There were nearly 8,000 receiving sets in the country by then.

Minor experiments in broadcasting continued for two more years till the Government of India established the Indian State Broadcasting Service starting on May 5, 1932. Up to 1935 there were only two daily news bulletins (one in English and another in an Indian language, both unsatisfactory). The Indian State Broadcasting Service was named All India Radio on June 8, 1936. By then India had about 38,000 receiving sets.

Short-wave transmitters went into action in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras in 1939 (there had been only medium-wave transmitters till then). A real thrust for expansion in broadcasting came during the war years. On August 14, 1947, at midnight, when India attained independence, All India Radio reached millions in

India with Jawaharlal Nehru's famous 'tryst with destiny' speech (about 237,000 sets). Since then the number of sets has grown during the various five-year plan periods (1952: 667,130 sets; 1961: 2,064,097 sets). In 1966 India had an estimated six million radio sets, while the AIR network included 36 principal stations, 20 auxiliary centers, 26 Vividh Bharati centers, 40 studio centers, 49 receiving centers and 125 transmitters. A fourth of the transmitters are short-wave and the rest medium-wave with an aggregate power of over 2,000 Kw. In 1966 AIR covered 74 per cent of India's population (nearly 375 million potential listeners) and 61 per cent of her area. AIR presents 155 daily newscasts in 35 Indian and foreign languages. Its program composition is roughly: Indian music, 43 per cent; news, 22 per cent; special broadcasts, 13 per cent; talks, discussions, etc., 8 per cent; rural broadcasts, 7 per cent; drama, features, etc., 5 per cent; and Western music, 2 per cent.

AIR's News Services began in 1937 at the same time the Central News Organization was founded. At present there are three broad types of services: national, regional and external.

National Radio News Service: The national service offers 57 daily news bulletins in 17 different languages. There are nearly a hundred editors of all ranks at the pool desk in New Delhi where news arrives for processing. The chief editor, with the help of others, prepares a master news copy. Some 30 copies of this are sent to other desks where editors compile particular news bulletins for translation into regional languages. The literary atmosphere in the news service offices may contribute to the frequently stilted language in which the news bulletins are finally presented. In fact, the language may be so stilted that it goes over the head of many listeners.

AIR does not have regular correspondents abroad. When the Indian President or Prime Minister visits foreign countries, special reporters may be assigned to accompany them and give on-the-spot reports. Otherwise it is rare to hear a direct story coming from another land through All India Radio.

External Radio Service: To provide news services for radio listeners outside of India (including over eight million people of Indian origin living abroad), 38 daily news bulletins are issued in 19 different languages, Indian and foreign, and beamed to listeners in Asia, Australia, New Zealand, Africa and Europe. Since 1948-49, when AIR's external output was 12 hours and 50 minutes, the figure has doubled. However, the transmitters are weak and hardly any effort has been made to discover what the overseas audiences would care to listen to.

Soon after the Chinese invasion of India in 1962, American help was sought in setting up a thousand Kilowatt transmitter in Northeast India. However, the project proved controversial and was finally dropped.

Regional Radio Service: The first regional news unit was set up in 1953 in Lucknow. Since then the idea of ten-minute bulletins of regional, as distinct from national and international items, has spread. In 1966,18 different stations broadcast 60 news bulletins in 16 different languages with a special slant to regional news. The main sources for this bulletin are the PTI news agency, the AIR monitoring unit in Delhi and AIR correspondents in certain state capitals.

Musical Entertainment: Music is the most popular item broadcast by All India Radio. Of nearly 182,000 hours broadcast a year, Indian music fills over 42 per cent and Western music over 2 per cent.

In the 1950's AIR was guided by the then Information Minister's belief that Indian musical taste should be cultivated to appreciate classical music. The policy was changed when it was discovered that nine out of ten Indian listeners kept their dials tuned most of the time to Radio Ceylon or Radio Goa for the film and popular music they played. In 1957 AIR introduced Vividh Bharati, consisting of light music collected from Indian states. At present 60 per cent of the music program consists of film song recordings.

Special Radio Programs: All India Radio has a variety of programs for special audiences. In 1966 some 25 stations broadcast educational programs for schools. These were usually of 20-30 minutes' duration, four to six days a week. Over 25,000 schools were registered with AIR for these broadcasts.

Programs meant for university students consist of talks and discussions on subjects usually of academic interest. Inter-university contests, group discussions and radio plays are held annually in many languages.

Special programs are beamed for women, consisting of information on child welfare, better housekeeping, cooking, hygiene, and simple remedies for common ailments. Lessons on nutrition and mental health are at times included. Formation of women's listening groups is encouraged; in 1966 there were about 1,500 such clubs for women.

The armed forces too have special programs. These are often of an entertaining and morale-boosting nature.

Radio Rural Forum: Originally a Canadian idea, the radio farm forum was successfully introduced into India in 1956 with the help of UNESCO sponsorship and financing. It has since traveled to the rest of India and other African and Asian nations. The main subjects discussed on radio farm Forum are agricultural, although education, co-operation, health and village functioning are also included. The plan is for farmers to listen to the programs together and then to discuss what they hear. It has been found that even illiterates can actively participate in and benefit from such forums, and that farmers are receptive to new ideas and techniques.

Radio Industry: There are three types of producers of radio sets in India: the large scale or organized producers like Murphy and Philips who manufacture over 100,000 radios annually; the small scale or unorganized producers; and the scatered invisible producers. Small scale manufacturers vary in their capacities. Some poduce around 1,500 sets a year, others 50,000 annually. Despite their handicaps of capital and organizational problems, in 1965 these unorganized units produced 54.5 per cent of India's radios. It is estimated that in 1966 a total of 750,000 sets weremanufactured in all in the country.

A radio is still a luxury item in India, costing the equivalent of $50-60-- well beyond the means of the Indian masses. Hong Kong and Taiwan turn out transistors at much lower prices.

Television: Aside from one experimental station started in Delhi in 1959, there is little television in India worth describing. Small one-act plays, puppet shows and news were tried on television to begin with. Ford Foundation-financed school broadcasts, especially in science subjects, were started in 1961. Some 150 schools participated initially. The number of receiving sets in schools has doubled since then to about 300. In addition there are nearly 200 tele-clubs for social education programs that have access to television sets. Another 4,500 sets are spread mostly among families of diplomatic corps, in rich Indian homes and some scattered shopping centers. In 1966 about 20 hours of weekly TV programs were available. Recent news items tell that India is planning to have television on a big scale. The immediate beneficiaries will be the metropolitan cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Madras.

A consortium of radio manufacturers has been licensed to produce indigenous television sets. The Central Electronic Engineering Research Institute at Pilani, Rajasthan, designed a set in the early 1960's costing about Rs. 1,200 ($160). The J. K. Industries and the manufacturers of Telerad Radios appear to have received licenses in early 1967 to produce 10,000 sets each, utilizing Indian know-how. A provision of nearly $22 million is being made in the current Five-Year Plan for the development of Indian television.

Carefully planned use of the broadcasting medium, both radio and television, could go a long way in reaching isolated, illiterate masses and challenging them with the opportunities of change for a better India.

FILMS

The first motion pictures in India were shown in Bombay by agents of the French Lumière brothers in 1896, the same year that the first Edison Vitascope was exhibited in New York. 'The Serpent,' 'Sea Bathers,' 'Arrival of a Train,' and 'London Girl Dancers' were among the pictures screened in India at that time. Audiences consisted largely of British residents and a few of the Indian 'educated classes.' Within a month, two characteristically Indian features had appeared: reserved boxes for ladies in purdah, and a range of seat prices from four annas to two rupees, permitting clerks as well as government officers to attend.

H. S. Bhatvadekar and other Maharashtrians pioneered in the Indian film industry. They imported film equipment from England and photographed such events as a Bombay wrestling match and the homecoming of an Indian student who had distinguished himself in Cambridge in mathematics. Films were shown as supplements to plays, dramas, and magic shows.

The silent movie, 'Life of Christ,' shown in Bombay's Gaiety Theater in 1910 inspired D. G. Phalke, the son of a Sanskrit scholar, with photographic training in the J. J. School of Arts in Bombay, to leave his Art Printing Press and launch a career of movie making. As he watched the film, the thought occurred to him that stories from the Indian epics, the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, were equally suitable for movie themes. Their heroes personified human ideals or divine beings. Originally written in Sanskrit, they had been translated into all the written languages of India. Those who did not read still knew many epic stories by heart, since they had heard them from older members of the family or from itinerant bards or had seen them enacted at fairs and festivals. So Phalke took events from the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa, the romantic lord with his numerous amorous involvements, as well as events from the *Ramayana* as themes for his pioneering indigenous silent films. The effects were overwhelming. Sometimes when Kṛṣṇa or Rāma appeared on the screen, people prostrated before them. The era of fabulous mythologicals, the biggest money earners, was thus inaugurated.

Phalke experimented with movie-making techniques including animation, color-tinting and toning. Along with numerous technical problems, Phalke had to overcome social prejudices. In his early films men had to take the parts of women because no decent woman would consider public acting. As Phalke's troupe expanded, they lived like a joint family on his estate, with Phalke holding final authority and serving as disciplinarian.

World War I speeded up India's industrialization, bringing much money into some Indian hands. Films were a good industry in which to invest, and film companies were started in many cities including Bombay and Calcutta. Chandulal Shah in Bombay and D. Ganguly in Bengal brought out the first domestic and social pictures. Shah's 'Guna

Sundari' (Why Husbands Go Astray) concerned the dilemma of a dutiful wife whose husband, with his professional worries, does not want to be involved in the problems of a joint family, so turns for comfort to a dancing girl. The wife is piqued and begins to have her own private life. In its eastern setting such a plot was exciting to some but disturbing to others. 'Gun Sundari' and a similar film, the 'Typist Girl,' put the social film on an equal footing with the mythologicals. Ganguly's 'England Returned' satirized the pretensions of Westernized Indians as did the 'Lady Teacher' and 'Marriage Tonic.'

One of Ganguly's films, based on historic events, backfired. 'Razia Begum' told the story of a Muslim queen who fell in love with a Hindu subject. When it was shown in Hyderabad, capital of a state ruled by a Muslim Nizam, Ganguly was ordered to quit the city within twenty-four hours. But similar later films like 'Anarkali,' depicting the love of a Muslim prince for a dancing girl, 'Pukar' portraying some of the episodes in the life of Nūr Jahān, and 'Mughal-e-Azam' were successes. People were coming to look upon the Mughul rule as part of Indian history and Mughul life as part of Indian culture. Besides, the grandeur of the Mughul courts, their lovely gardens, and their beautiful veiled girls were a treat in themselves for the audiences.

Until the mid-1920's nine out of ten films shown in India came from America. In 1927 the Government of India appointed a cinematograph committee to study the effects of foreign films on Indian society. After completing its study, the committee reported that foreign films were misunderstood and that Western embracing and kissing tended to corrupt Indian youth. This committee was the nucleus for the later censorship board.

Gradually the early stigma against acting disappeared. P. C. Barua who acted in the social film 'Devdas' himself belonged to a royal family. 'Devdas' set a new mark for the social pictures. It tells the story of the childhood romance of Devdas, the son of a rich landlord, and Parbati, the daughter of a poor neighbor. In time, Devdas has to go to Calcutta for higher studies. While he is away, Parbati's father arranges her marriage with someone else, and Parbati dutifully accedes to her father's wishes. When Devdas hears of the marriage, he is heartbroken and takes to drinking and visiting brothels. In the end, weakened from a long illness, he stumbles to the high walls of Parbati's house, outside of which he dies. The film was seen by many as a protest against the system of arranged marriages. It was released in both Hindi and Bengali and was an unprecedented box office success. Devdas's tragic ending was derived from the European and recent-Bengali traditions rather than from the classical Sanskrit tradition that permitted only happy endings. Nonetheless, it showed that Indian audiences, like their western counterparts, would pay for the privilege of weeping.

During the 1920's and 1930's the Indian film world contributed to the Independence movement. Audiences cheered at pictures of protest demonstrations, freedom marches, and Congress Party symbols like the spinning wheel. Scenes of drinking bouts were forbidden because the Indian National Congress backed prohibition. Since leaders like Gandhi and Nehru called for an end to the caste system, pictures like a brāhmaṇ youth falling in love with an untouchable girl were the order of the day. In 1936 such a film was 'Achhut Kanya' (Untouchable Girl) in which Ashok Kumar, the Cary Grant of the Indian screen, and Devika Rani, a girl from the Tagore family, acted the leading roles.

K. Subrahmanyam, a young criminal lawyer, pioneered in the production of films in South India in Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada. One of his first films was the 1938 Tamil 'Balayogini' (Child Saint). It tells the story of a brāhmaṇ widow and her daughter driven out by her rich relatives, taking shelter with a servant of a lower caste. To make matters even more offensive for the orthodox, Subrahmanyam convinced a brāhmaṇ widow to play the part of the brāhmaṇ widow; thereby presenting on the screen a figure considered by many to be a bad omen.

Since the 1940's the Dravida Munnetra Kalagam has been encouraging a renaissance of Dravidian as opposed to Sanskrit culture, preaching rationalism instead of superstition and equality instead of casteism. These teachings are reflected in the Tamil movies. The D. M. K. has actors, playwrights and literary figures as its supporters and patrons. One of their actors, M. G. Ramachandran has appeared as a folk hero battling royal usurpers and fighting against overwhelming odds in the style of Douglas Fairbanks. The comedian N. S. Krishnan, who looked like Red Skelton, used his wit and finesse to ridicule the forces of conservatism in a style similar to that of Danny Kaye. Krishnan's funeral procession was one of the largest the country had witnessed.

Malayalam movies in Kerala began in 1938. From the start, themes concerned with current problems have been preferred to other themes. 'Neela Kuyil' (Blue Nightingale) dealing with the life of an untouchable, 'Mudiyanaya Puthran' (Prodigal Son), and 'Chemeen' (Prawns) have all won national awards. 'Chemeen' centers round the life of Kerala fishermen. Karuthamma, the heroine, though married to a fisherman, has an illicit affair with a Muslim youth whom she has known since girlhood. They both meet a tragic end. The movie's theme is that even uneducated fisher folk are bound by a code of morality. If they violate it, they must take the consequence. This film has been dubbed into Russian and has won acclaim abroad.

Devotional films have continued to be popular ever since the 1932 release of 'Chandidas,' the story of a Vaiṣṇavite saint living in the 16th century. The director, Debaki Bose, virtually saturated the film with music, demonstrating the musical potential that existed in talking pictures. His 1937 'Vidyapati,' featured another Vaiṣṇavite poet-saint. One of the greatest successes among devotional films was 'Meera,' about a saintly woman follower of Kṛṣṇa. This film, produced in the '40's, featured M. S. Subbalakshmi, a brilliant singer of classical Carnatic music. Her 'Meera' songs are still sung by devout Hindus during worship services. M. S. Subbalakshmi was one of the foreign musicians invited to New York in 1966 for the twentieth-anniversary celebrations of the United Nations.

As time passed, a formula was accepted for most films: a star and six songs, and a star and three dances. The story was of secondary importance. Film idols like Ashok Kumar, Dilip Kumar, Raj Kapoor, Nargis, Bina Rai, Nutan and others made teams in different combinations. 'Awara' (The Vagabond) starring Raj Kapoor and Nargis became world famous. It was dubbed into Persian, Arabic and Turkish. It was widely distributed in the Soviet Union. The pair were invited to Moscow where they received a red carpet welcome. The song 'Awara Hun' (I Am a Vagabond) was sung at the airport. The climax of the visit was a show by a famous puppeteer in which the main puppets were Raj Kapoor and Nargis.

Indian films have been recognized at some of the international festivals. One of the first to receive an international award was a neorealistic film called 'Do Bigha Zamin' (Two Acres of Land) in which a Bengali peasant, to keep his small holding, goes to the city and becomes a ricksha puller. When he finally returns with the money, it is too late. A factory has been built on his land. Satyajit Ray, a Bengali producer, put India on the world film map by winning the 'best human document' award at the 1956 Cannes Film Festival with his 'Pather Panchali' (Song of the Road). The film deals with the struggles of a Bengali family to stay alive and together. 'Pather Panchali' was followed by two sequels, 'Aparajito' (Unvanquished) and 'Apur Sansar' (The World of Apu) to form a trilogy unequalled in India for the international awards they have received. All three films are realistic. They feature no songs or dances. Their effects are achieved more by motion, gestures and expression than by talk. The rich, soft background music is provided by such stars as Ravi Shankar playing on the sitār. Other prize-winning Indian films have included 'Jaideep,' judged the best children's film at the Venice Film Festival, the 'Two Daughters' based on Tagore's stories, and 'Gunga Jumna,' a story of two brothers. Suchitra Sen won a best actress award at one of the Moscow Film Festivals.

By 1967 the Films Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting had produced almost a thousand short films and an equal number of newsreels in most of the principal Indian languages. During the regular screening of any movie, every theater is required to show documentaries (about 2,000 feet long) of this type. Some documentaries have won international awards: 'Jain Temples of India' in Vienna, 'Vinoba Bhave, the Man' in Locarno and 'Jaipur' in Florence.

A most encouraging recent Indian plan has been that of the National Film Archives to set up a chain of theaters in the country for the spreading of film culture through the regular screening of film classics supplemented by introductory lectures and critical discussion. The Archives in Poona so far have collected 176 film titles. They hope to have some 2,500 such films by 1971.

Today India is the second largest producer of movies in the world. On the average, every Indian sees three films a year. Urban centers are sprinkled with movie theaters, and the countryside is served by tent or palmyra-mat cinemas. Most Indian theaters sell a range of tickets. The twenty-five naiya paisa tickets permit one to sit on the crowded floor in front of the screen; while the five-rupee tickets entitle one to a cushioned seat in the rear of the house. Patrons are almost certain to get their money's worth; typically the films run between three and four hours in length, with at least one intermission.

Films are still seen primarily as an entertainment medium. But their ability to inform and educate cannot be questioned. Currently India has about 5,500 movie theaters; each year their number increases. Films have already influenced the spreading of an all-Indian culture of songs and screen personalities; they have helped to popularize Hindi in the non-Hindi-speaking states; and they have raised questions in the minds of their audiences about the benefits and losses to be obtained by following traditional patterns of life.

PERSONAL IMPACT

In any discussion of the process of communication, two aspects must be kept in mind: the content of communications and the style of communications. On the whole, the formal mass media direct both their content and their style toward the urban-elite channels rather than the rural-mass channels. The barrier of illiteracy is blamed for the lack of printed media reaching the villages, and economic backwardness for absence of many radio receivers in rural areas. It is a fact that over ninety per cent of India's radio receiving sets and over ninety per cent of her newspaper circulation are among the urban population; this in itself may justify the contents and package of information being city oriented. Nonetheless, both All India Radio and most of the newspapers use a style of language so pedantic and deal with topics so esoteric that they cannot be understood by villagers. Instead, villagers frequently depend upon their own urban contacts or the urban contacts of their neighbors to find out new information.

The flow of information from urban centers to outlying rural areas was demonstrated by Damle in a study of seven villages near Poona, the closest being a Poona suburb and the furthest being 80 miles away. He concluded that: (1) It is not merely the distance from a city that determines the communication of ideas; (2) the social structure helps determine the qualitative and quantitative content of the communications that are assimilated; and (3) information relevant to the needs and interests of the people (such as changing attitudes toward caste) is more widespread than information of less immediately relevant matters (such as foreign affairs).[17]

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[17] Y. B. Damle, "Communication of Modern Ideas and Knowledge in Indian Villages," Public Opinion Quarterly, XX, 1 (Spring, 1956), p. 267.

Unlike most African countries with one or two large cities each, the entire face of India is spotted with urban centers of all sizes. This means that many of India's villages are within the reach of urban centers, some linked by railroads or motorable roads, some only by age-old bullock-cart trails. Some villagers visit neighboring towns regularly. They may be washermen in the cities; or they may take milk, eggs or vegetables daily to sell; some of them work in the towns. These moving villagers gather information of all kinds that they can disseminate on return. Some villager may bring back city shopping, wrapped in an old newspaper. An enterprising young literate might straighten the sheets and read for the benefit of those willing to 'listen' to a newspaper. A soldier on leave may have brought back a cheap transistor radio to his village to show off the mysteries of the talking machine. A politician in a jeep may stop by, especially if it is election time. Or a village might have a community listening center, a school, a post office, or some extension staff. The majority of urban-to-rural communicators are not 'professionals' like a local American clergyman or radio-TV commentator. They are communicators because of their social roles, like the American small-town barber, whose job more or less requires talking and exchanging information.

After news reaches one village, it has a number of avenues for reaching other villages. There are fairs, markets, wrestling bouts, marriages, deaths and other events when people gather together. Festivals may draw scattered family members together for family reunions like those that occur at Thanksgiving and Christmas in America.

During the course of the day, women go in groups to fetch water. Men work together in the fields. And, they all talk. Majumdar describes village life and communication in Mohana, a medium-sized, multi-caste village in Uttar Pradesh, about eight miles north of Lucknow, the state capital.[18] In certain respects the way information circulates in Mohana has little similarity with the way it circulates in American rural areas. For example, Mohana has two castes that traditionally carry messages, the Pāsīs and the Nāīs. Furthermore, in recent times Mohana has come to depend increasingly on its students enrolled in the Higher Secondary School to bring news of such projects as those sponsored by the National Extension Service Center.

Printed or written material can rarely reach the village except through literate villagers. Their ability to understand what it says is important in determining how much they and their neighbors will be affected by it. Often the language of government materials is so literary that messages are lost in transmission. For example, a case has been reported of some school authorities distributing leaflets announcing a forthcoming visit to their village by the President of India to lay the foundation stone of a hospital. Unfortunately the word used in the leaflet for 'hospital' and 'foundation stone' were not known to any of the villagers.[19]

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[18] D.N. Majumdar, "Rural Life and Communication," The Eastern Anthropologist, XI, 3, 4 (March-August, 1958), pp. 175-188.

Changes in patterns of communication are bound to arrive with the planned development of mass media in India. However, a pattern of communication built on face-to-face relationships, governed at times by the social position of the informer, will not instantly vanish with such changes. The mass media will only supplement --not replace--these time-honored channels.

CONCLUSION

The weakest link in the Indian communications system is not government interference, nor big business, nor is it shortage of newsprint, or lack of machinery, or illiteracy, or poverty. The weakest link is the failure in recruiting and training for professions in communication. During the green years of the Independence movement Indian journalism was in a dangerously dignified position. Journalists were the patriots, heroes, and martyrs of the nation. Since Independence, the decline of idealism and the drain of talent by old age and death have left the field of communications wanting in personnel and vitality.

India's road from scarcity to prosperity will have to be built by technocrats. Accompanying the technocrats must be the journalists, radio commentators and movie producers, to awaken slumbering rural India and persuade the masses to rise to the challenges of freedom. If a free communications system fails to do these today, who knows whether or not a totalitarian system might be the usurper tomorrow.

When Lester Markel was in India, he was distressed with many of the things he saw. But he had some comforting thoughts too:

> ...there are other sights that are symbols of hope...the model farms and the bustling factories...the younger generation, fighting tradition and lethargy...the girls in the offices, charming, sparkling and competent...the students eager to learn and in turn to instruct their parents...the deep dedication of the teachers...the women at the village clinic, wholly concentrated on the task of

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[19] John J. Gumperz, "Language Problems in the Rural Development of North India," The Journal of Asian Studies, XVI, 2 (February, 1957), p. 257.

> learning new methods...the new breed of Government official, intent on breaking through the shackles of habit, corruption and inefficiency.[20]

One task of India's mass media is to proclaim these unsung heroes and heroines to the people.

It is the best of times, it is the worst of times. What does the future hold for the media? That depends to a great extent on how the media answer the challenge of the present.

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[20] Lester Markel, "The Myths that Divide India and Us," The New York Times Magazine, January 15, 1967, p. 29.

CHAPTER VIII

DANCE, DANCE-DRAMA, AND MUSIC

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DANCE, DANCE-DRAMA, AND MUSIC

Cliff R. Jones and Robert E. Brown

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DANCE AND DANCE-DRAMA

Cliff R. Jones

I. Introduction

The medieval period in India signaled the development of vernacular literature and the translation of the epics into local languages. The imitation of the Sanskrit poetic style and thematic materials drawn from the Purāṇas formed the base of the new medieval regional schools of dramatic art. This is a period in Indian history that is sometimes referred to as quasi-feudal. At this time the great empires of the preceding era were at an end, and political power and patronage of the arts were divided and subdivided among petty kingdoms and vassals harassed by constant conflict and shifting alliances.

The decline of Sanskrit poetry and classical dramatic literature was already well under way by the time Muslim armies cut across North India at the close of the 13th century. Muslim power subsequently began to consolidate and expand to the South. By the close of the 14th century Vijayanagara emerged to form a bastion against further Muslim penetration of the Deccan and farther south. Even so, for a brief period Muslim power had cut deep into the South and sacked and destroyed many of the temples, that were in effect centers of culture and patrons of the arts. The great temple of Madurai was destroyed and much of the country laid waste, a brief but shocking blow to South Indian culture. It was during the subsequent period of the Vijayanagara power and protection of Hindu cultural institutions that the major development of most of the present forms of South Indian dance and dance-drama began; they reached their maturity in the again turbulent period of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

In North India, Kathak dance in its present form began to emerge about the 17th century as a product of Islamic-Hindu synthesis. The dance art of Manipur developed into its present-day form in the late 18th century, essentially untouched by contacts with Islam and by political turbulence in other areas.

In the following discussion, the major schools of dance and dance-drama that appear to be most closely related to the earlier classical tradition will be emphasized. Before discussing the history and development of these forms, there are a few points that should be made clear.

There have grown up in the last thirty years of India's 'renaissance' in the arts certain, often repeated, misconceptions regarding the antiquity or 'ancient pristine purity' of the classical tradition that has come down to the present. It is necessary to establish as clear a view as possible of the actual situation before examining the various details. The greater part of writing available on the subject of traditional Indian dance and dance-drama today is of the 'popular' sort, much of which is the source of the vagaries regarding the genesis and diffusion from a presupposed singular origin of all Indian dance and dance-drama, based on the ancient tradition as set down in the Sanskrit text of the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (c. 2nd century BC to 5th century AD).[1] One of the favorite 'mysteries' is the contention that Indian classical dance is 5,000 years old, or 3,000 years old at least. That it is a sacred and spiritual gift of the ancient Vedic gods, that the Nāṭyaśāstra is the origin of all classical forms, and further that Indian classical dance has remained unchanged through the ages--such statements are all too often made, apparently with serious intent.

Of course there were dance and drama of some kind in the most ancient times, even in the prehistoric period, but the evidence is so fragmentary that nothing but speculation is possible. By the early centuries of the Christian era, texts were formulated attempting to describe and codify what appears to be a very ancient and sophisticated form of professional theatre, drama and dance. A great deal of what is discussed in these texts appears to have influenced much of what we now see among the several schools of traditional dance and dance-drama. However, all of these forms have been in a continuous flux of change, dissolution, reformation, and development through the years. This is made abundantly clear by sculpture from as early a period as Barhut (2nd century BC) down to the present. What survives in sculptural form to give us even a glimpse of these periods and regions of development is fragmentary and does not at all indicate an unchanging continuity. Many important phases are simply unknown. What is known is that despite discontinuities, or by virtue of reintroduction of theories from the textual materials, we have in the present a variety of schools of dance and dance-drama that carry in some form or other the imprint of the ancient Indian theatre tradition. Dance has changed as much as music in the last two thousand years, and both as much as Indian society and culture in that same span of time. We should expect nothing less.

Finally, almost no present form of dance or dance-drama can trace its continuous historical tradition further back than the 17th century. From then to the present will be the period that concerns us.

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[1] Manomohan Ghosh (ed. and tr.), The Nāṭyaśāstra Acribed to Bharata-Muni, Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1951. Sanskrit text, Bombay and Banaras editions; with Sanskrit commentary, Baroda edition.

Apart from the confusing popular writing on the subject is a much smaller body of material by scholars who are more objective in their approach and have documented their work with responsible footnotes and indications of source material. It must be remembered, however, that only a limited knowledge of any performing art can be gained through reading. For fuller appreciation, one must see actual performances and many of them, preferably in the area from which the art sprang. Seeing, evaluating, experiencing will finally bring a true depth of understanding. A relatively sophisticated and conscious critical evaluation must be developed and applied to distinguish the genuine from the spurious tradition in Indian theatre arts, particularly in the contemporary period. The hybrid East-West forms, the influence of the cinema, and the often chaotic 'individual creativity' complicate a clear assessment of genuinely representative schools of a major living tradition in Indian art.

On the evidence available we can examine several regional traditions that represent degrees of Sanskritization of local traditions in dance and dance-drama, all of which were formerly under the patronage of kings or temple authorities. All of these forms drew upon the legacy of epic-puranic literary sources in Sanskrit or in translation in their regional vernaculars. To a lesser or greater degree they reflect the influence and direct application or adaptation of the erudite Sanskrit tradition of the Śāstras on dramatic theory and technique. The technical source material is the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata, the Abhinayadarpaṇa of Nandikeśvara,[2] or a similar later regional compilation, or merely the oral and practical use of technique relatable ultimately to these sources. Each of these regional schools reflects the pan-Indian Sanskritic tradition in the special subcultural terms or vocabulary of images and styles that distinguishes it. Malabar is not Manipur, and Tamilnad not Uttar Pradesh, nor Rajasthan Orissa. All reflect the larger tradition, and all have their own special identity. Unity with infinite variety can be another tiresome platitude, but if one observes carefully, it is there, and it is far more truly representative of traditional culture than the numerous schools of 'national culture' that claim to be based on the 'all-India' classical and/or folk tradition.

Today in India Maṇipūri dance is taught in schools in Bombay and Delhi, Kaṭhakaḷi dance-drama is taught in Bombay, Calcutta, and Delhi, Kathak in Calcutta and Bombay --each well outside its place of origin. Bharata Nāṭyam is found in schools all over India. Two of the latest revival forms, Kuchipudi and Orissi (often called Odissi), are enjoying a rage among contemporary young Indian dancers. Most of these forms are found in rather popularized and 'streamlined' versions outside their regional origins.

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2. Manomohan Ghosh (ed. and tr.), Abhinayadarpaṇam, Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1957. With Sanskrit text.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the finest exponents of these arts are to be found almost in every case in their native areas. Very few of the traditional masters venture outside of their 'cultural seed-bed' for very long periods of time.

Today traditional dance and dance-drama are making a perilous transition to the modern Indian stage and by extension to the increasingly larger interested public outside of India. What is seen today ranges from 'warmed-over' imitations of distinguished innovators in the 'eclectic-ballet method' of Tagore and Uday Shankar, through cinematic 'Oriental dances' to the schools of the declared 'spiritualist-traditionalist-revivalists' to, finally, the few genuine representatives of a still magnificent, still living dance and dance-drama tradition. To be sure there have been genuine and totally successful innovations and adaptations of classical and folk materials by a few extraordinary people, but their work is yet too seldom seen. A totally mature contemporary idiom in dance of artistic validity is yet to emerge. Perhaps there is sufficient need, perhaps not, for a 'new school' analogous to the developments in modern Indian painting and literature. In any event it is the traditional classical schools that are today the most articulate and continue to form the basis for all real development worth consideration in Indian dance and dance-drama in the present period.

II. Maṇipūri Dance

In the farthest northeastern corner of India is the culture of the Meitei (Tibeto-Burman) speaking people who make up the larger segment of the inhabitants of Manipur State. The Maṇipūris are a distinct people, probably of Mongolian stock. Hinduism was introduced to this area only some 400 years ago. The chief contact with the mainstream of Hinduism and Sanskrit culture was via Bengal. Today the script used is Bengali rather than the older Meitei.

Much has been written on the extent of Sanskritization in Maṇipūri dance art. Although Sanskritization has taken place to a small degree, the fact remains that this tradition stands on its own, a distinct entity, apart from the mainstream of the predominantly Indo-Aryan and Dravidian speaking cultures of the rest of India.

The repertoire of traditional Maṇipūri dances that have come to be known in the rest of India are those primarily that are built upon Hindu themes from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Gīta Govinda.[3] These dance compositions, that in their full form are actually dance-dramas, are seen in the large urban centers of India in various abbreviated versions, usually as solo or duet items. The basis of the most famous of these dances, the Ras, of which there are several forms, is the legend of the god Kṛṣṇa. This theme developed out of the influence of Bengal Gaudiya Vaiṣṇavism brought to Manipur in the early part of the 18th century and, under the patronage of the King Bhāgyachandra in the late 18th century, reached its developed form in religious dance-drama.

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[3] The older dances and dance-rituals, notably the Lai Haraoba, are seldom seen outside Manipur.

The spread of Maṇipūri dance in India proper owes its origin to the world-famous Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore. Tagore felt the need for developing a fuller curriculum in the arts at the then new Vishva Bharati University at Shanti Niketan. At the beginning there were major difficulties. Respectable middle-class society had rejected dance as a fitting subject for education on the basis of the stigma associating it with low-class professionals and prostitutes. This was perhaps the first time in the modern period that evolving Indian society and its reformers were to grapple with the problem of the dance arts, which in the past era had been in various degrees stagnating in the hands of a virtually dispossessed professional class.

The problem was a complicated one. Modern Indian society under the influence of British Western morality of the 19th century was rejecting many of its old traditions, one of which was the institution of courtesans and concubines. Formerly patronage of the developed theatre arts had been in the hands of royal courts and temples, where the institution of the accomplished courtesan class had been accepted from ancient times. The new rising, largely middle-class society, turning toward the dictates of English education and social-moral reform rejected this facet of an ancient social order and offered no patronage. It is nothing short of miraculous that many of the major dance and music traditions survived at all under the onslaught of condemnation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the much reduced courts of a few princely states and under the patronage of a few temples and a small but faithful traditionalist social elite, the dance arts survived among an incredibly few family traditions. The situation was not the same however for the dance-drama traditions of Bhāgavata Mēḷa Nāṭaka, Yakṣagāna, Satria, Chau, Kaṭhakaḷi, and similar forms. All of these were exclusively male traditions, many of which came from a military or religious milieu. The difficulties that harassed these arts were a dislocation of patronage and the indifference of a large part of early modern Indian society toward its own heritage.

By the end of the first quarter of the 20th century, a change was coming about. Among those who saw their people dispossessed of their national heritage was Tagore. With other national figures he contributed greatly to the renaissance in traditional art and dance and their re-establishment in the newly evolving society in a place of acceptance and respectability. His first major step was to establish dance as a regular part of education at Vishva Bharati. The following quotation from an article by Santidev Ghosh tells the story of the beginning of the transition in public opinion:

> Visvabharati was founded in the year 1921. Sri-Bhavan, a hostel for the girl students was then started, so that girls might come to study from different places. From then onwards the girl students acquired the right to appear before an audience, along with the boys, in singing and acting, but the right of dancing in public came much later. Towards the beginning there was no arrangement for the girls to be taught dancing. In the year 1925 when the poet was travelling about in different towns of East Bengal (now Eastern Pakistan) on a lecture tour, he had to go to Agartala again for a few days at the request of his host, the Maharaja. There, one day, the Maharaja had a 'Rasa' dance recital by the Manipuri girls arranged for the poet. Gurudev was enchanted to see it and requested the Maharaja for a teacher of Manipuri dancing for the girls of Santiniketan. The Maharaja selected Naba Kumar Sin[illegible] of Agartala, and sent him along to Santiniketan.
>
> Naba Kumar joined Santiniketan as the teacher of Manipuri dancing towards the beginning of 1926, when only girls were to be his pupils. (In fact that marks the beginning of the propagation of Manipuri dance styles outside Manipuri society, and the dance tradition of Santiniketan also really begins from here.) But even then the educated people reacted quite strongly against dancing. To bring about a change in this feeling, I think, Gurudev composed the drama 'Natir Puja,' and had it staged by the girls of Santiniketan in the month of May--all the girls who had taken lessons in dancing from Naba Kumar participated in it. Gauri Devi, daughter of Silpacharya Nandalal Bose, was selected for the role of Srimati. She moved the audience by her dances in Manipuri technique and with the songs of 'Natir Puja' deeply.
>
> At the instance of the citizens of Calcutta, 'Natir Puja' was staged again there in January, 1927. The educated people of Calcutta were not stirred. They realised what great heights the noble art of dance may attain, and gradually the old antagonism gave place to a changed attitude. Quite a number of girls from the schools and colleges of Calcutta began to learn dancing in earnest; and there would not be any inhibition on their part in showing their skill on a public stage.[4]

Tagore's success was perhaps due to (1) the fact that he had chosen a dance form which had no connection with the class of professional courtesans and was also from outside the cultural context of Bengal and urban North India; (2) the Maṇipūri form was culturally connected with Bengal via its Vaiṣṇava influences; even some of the songs adopted were Old Bengali or Sanskrit rendering of padas from the Gīta Govinda; (3) the costume was brilliant, decorous, 'well-covered,' and the quality of movement must have appealed immediately to the romantic nature of the Bengali public.

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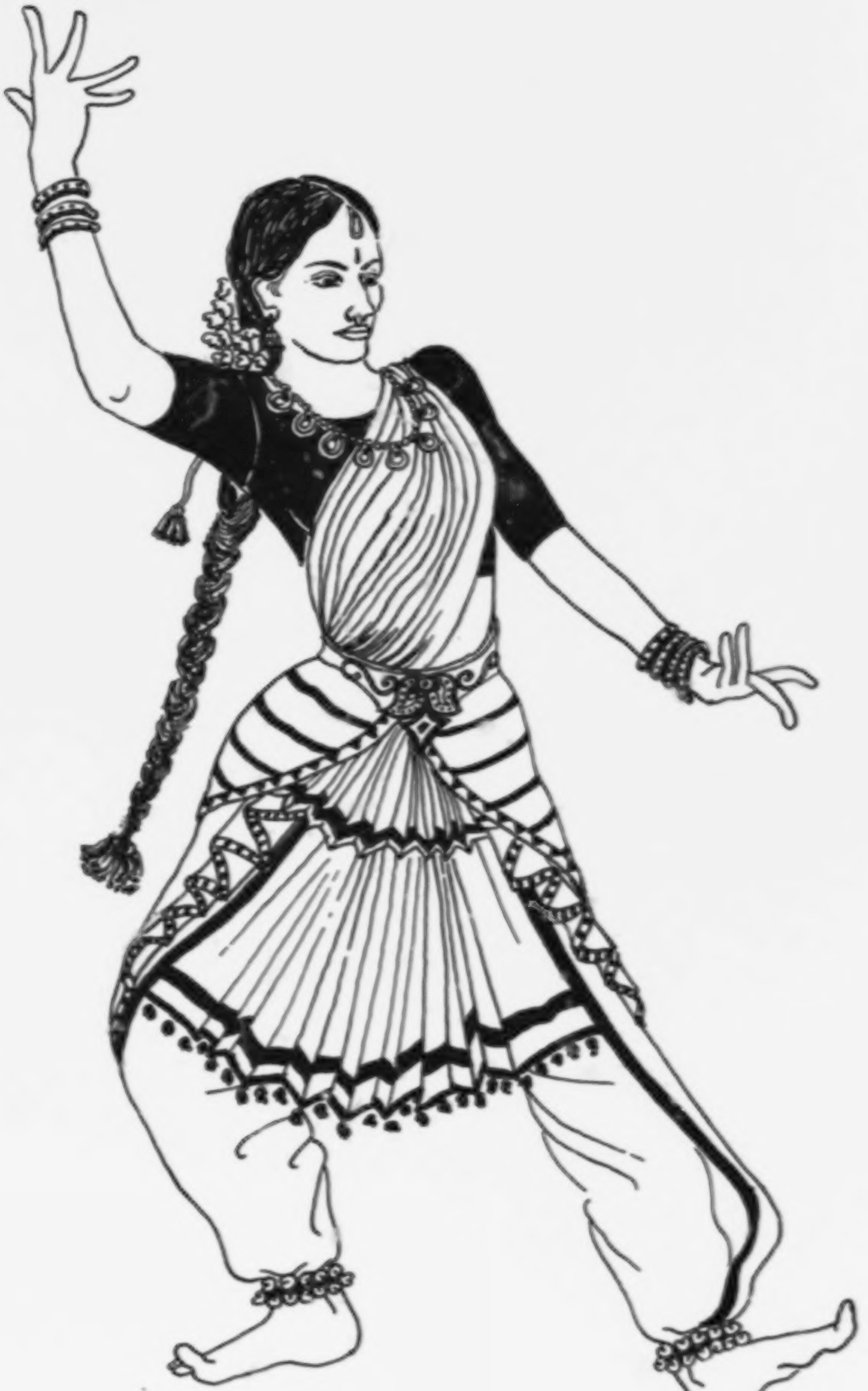
[4] Santidev Ghosh, "Tagore and Manipuri Dances," in Mulk Raj Anand (ed.), Classical and Folk Dances of India, Bombay: Marg Publications, 1963, Part Five, "Manipuri," p. 48.

Tagore's early dance-drama compositions were on the order of 'new works,' eclectic in style with original text and musical composition. He experimented with the Maṇipūri dance, using it often as source material for his own choreography. Later Naba Kumar, who was from Tripura, left to teach in Ahmedabad and Bombay, and the popularity of Maṇipūri dance for 'ladies of good family' became established in urban society. Still later new teachers from Manipur proper came to Bengal and subsequently moved on to teach in the larger cities of North India. It was the beginning of a new era, a critical turning point in the history of dance in India. The reintroduction of dance as a respectable art in Indian society had begun.

As regards matters of choreographic style and quality of movement, the Maṇipūri dance is extremely plastic, with a strong visual continuity of pattern: circular, parabolic, like a continuous thread of arabesques and curves. One of the great appeals of Maṇipūri dance is that it is graceful, appears to be unlabored and easy to learn. This is extremely deceptive. It may be easily 'imitated,' but to perform it really well is to know its complex difficulties. The basic movement conception of Maṇipūri has a quality to be recognized in dances of the Sylhet-Tripura variants and in many movements found in the Satria dance-drama of Assam. The larger sphere of movement conception is identifiable in the dances of Burma and Northern Thailand and Laos. The ethnic-kinetic relationship especially to the more highly developed folk forms of these areas is obvious on comparison.

III. Bharata Nāṭyam

What has come to be popularly called Bharata Nāṭyam is the solo female form of concert dance that was from the 17th century to the early 20th century the art form par excellence of the court dancers (rājādāsis) and temple dancers (devadāsis) in the regions now known as Madras, Andhra, and Mysore States. The tradition as it exists today in South India is apparently a legacy of artistic and literary development from the time of the late phase of the Vijayanagara period, known as the Nāyak period in Tamilnad. Almost none of the compositions now in use are from the period prior to the 17th century. Details of the development of the present Bharata Nāṭyam style from a period earlier than the end of the 18th century are not clearly known. It emerges as a product of the cultural synthesis of the Nāyak period, largely dominated by Telugu influences, and finally coming under Maratha patronage in Tanjore. The Telugu influence is particularly evident in the music accompanying the performance of Bharata Nāṭyam today. Although Madras City is at present the most important center of the art, the language of Telugu dominates



1. Bharata Nāṭyam

the texts of the compositions, with Sanskrit, Tamil, and Kanarese following in approximately that order. The art form as practiced in Andhra naturally emphasized Telugu-Sanskrit. The local tradition in the court at Mysore City emphasized Kanarese-Sanskrit and admitted Hindi-Urdu and Persian songs as well; such 'foreign' items have been largely expunged from the repertoire today. The almost sole reminders of contacts with North Indian art forms are the tillāna (evidently a composition based on the very similar Hindustani form called tarāna, still today sung and danced in the North), and the use of rapid and rhythmically complex footwork in pure dance portions of the repertoire.

Until about forty years ago, this regional form was known in Tamilnad as sadir nāṭya or dāsiyāṭṭam, and was the exclusive hereditary art of classes of musicians and dancers attached to the temples and equally important courts of South India. There is every indication that the more sophisticated development of this art centered in the atmosphere of court patronage. It was in this context primarily that the brilliant reformation of the art at the hands of the famous 'Tanjore quartet' of musician-composer-choreographers took place at the turn of the 19th century. The Tanjore quartet were four brothers of the Pillai community: Ponnayya, Cinnayya, Śivānanda, and Vādivelu. The music for Bharata Nāṭyam falls within the classical Karnatic system, an aspect that was further developed and standardized by these four brothers. In the program of items now current in a classical Bharata Nāṭyam recital, the larger part of the important jatisvarams, vārṇṇams, and tillānas are compositions, both musically and choreographically, of these masters or their descendants. It is through the descendants of these men and their disciples, and a few other parallel family traditions, that the art is taught today.[5]

The practical technique of Bharata Nāṭyam is extremely difficult and exacting. A closely integrated system of exercises (called āḍavus) forms the 'alphabet.' These are in effect highly diversified choreographic units upon which the pure dance portions (nṛt) are based and composed. Alārippu, jatisvaram, and tillāna are items of pure dance; śabdam and vārṇṇam (the major composition form) combine pure dance with the supreme technique of abhinaya. The rendering of padams, or songs, is wholly in abhinaya. This is the complex and multifaceted technique of gestures and hand poses (hasta-mudrās) combined with facial expression and disciplined movement of the limbs by means of which the sung text of a composition is conveyed and elaborated upon. In the hands of an artist of the first rank, incredible range is given even the simplest text, by simile, paraphrase, allusion, invention--at its best a truly magnificent art. In the hands of a lesser artist it diminishes seemingly by an inexorable law in relation to the degree of intelligence, maturity, ability, imagination, musical and literary knowledge, and that intangible quality, 'taste,' possessed or not possessed by the dancer and musicians. Quite simply, a substantial book could not describe the real effect of this facet of an already ephemeral art. Here, the rendering of a competent artist is still a shadow of the rare great performance by a truly gifted artist.

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[5] The genealogy of the four Pillai brothers is given on page 38 of Part One, "Bharata Natyam," in Mulk Raj Anand (ed.), Classical and Folk Dances of India.

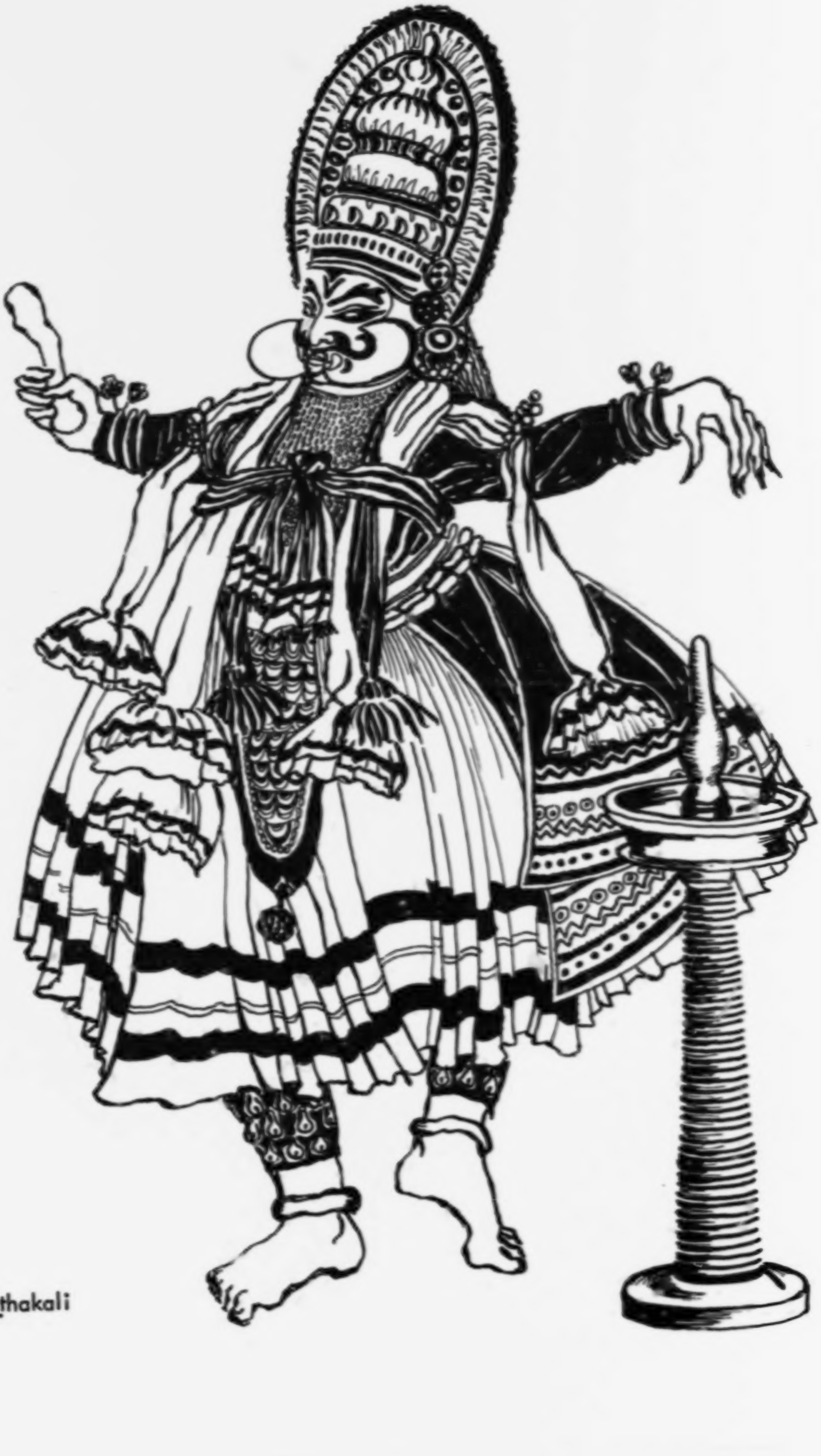
The accompanying orchestra today usually comprises voice, mṛdangam, flute or violin, and tambūra, as well as the nāṭṭuvān who chants the śolkeṭṭu (rhythmic syllables) and marks the patterns of footwork with hand-cymbals. The nāṭṭuvān is in effect the conductor of the orchestra; he is also traditionally the teacher of Bharata Nāṭyam. The term of training for the dancer is usually seven years. However, for the serious professional it is, as in all major art forms, musical or dramatic, a life's work.

The popular emergence and public acceptance of this art form dates from about thirty years ago in South India. The difficulties were much the same as those suffered by dance elsewhere in India. The rebirth of Bharata Nāṭyam centered in Madras City and soon spread to other parts of India. A series of minor social and artistic triumphs headed by a small group of cultural-reformists, intellectuals, and a few courageous traditional artists finally made the art acceptable, for all practical purposes, to the upper strata of society and hence a sought-after accomplishment of the social-intellectual elite, and an important cultural status-symbol for modern middle class society. Unfortunately this new state of affairs has brought its own problems. The popularity of Bharata Nāṭyam has left it open to an appalling degree to the difficulties discussed in Section VII.

IV. Kaṭhakaḷi

Among the few major dance-drama traditions of India, Kaṭhakaḷi has a special place. It is perhaps the most highly stylized, technically disciplined, and theatrical vehicle for epic story-telling from the medieval period. Among the elements that form the base of its evolution from the late 16th century, the most important was the older tradition of Kūṭiyāṭṭam, the Sanskrit theatre form still surviving in the temples of Kerala and dating probably from the 9th or 10th century. From the theatre of Kūṭiyāṭṭam, Kaṭhakaḷi acquired its techniques of acting and much of its choreographic form, stage deportment and pattern of presentation, as well as certain facets of its costume and makeup. The latter elements are also derived in part from Kerala's medieval sculpture and painting, whereas the texts of Kaṭhakaḷi are the product of a long established predilection for epic-puranic literature.

Kaṭhakaḷi was never primarily a temple art in the same manner as the Bhāgavata Mēḷa Nāṭaka tradition of Kuchipudi, Andhra State, and Melattur, Madras State (all male brāhmaṇ actor-devotees who performed dance-drama as voluntary temple service; see Section VII). The Kaṭhakaḷi yōgams, or professional troupes, were formerly



2. Kaṭhakali

privately maintained by individual rajas and aristocratic families. Originally the actors and musicians were drawn largely from the several Ambalavāsi (temple service) castes, and the military Nāyars. In the present period the art has been opened to all who can pass the years of rigorous training necessary to attain acceptance into the tradition.

There was a period immediately before 1930 when, because of the dislocation of patronage and general apathy all over India regarding the traditional arts, Kathakaḷi nearly succumbed. Largely owing to the Kerala poet Vallathol Narayana Menon, and again to a small but determined group of traditionalists with vision, the Kerala Kalamandalam was founded. From that time the tradition developed in that institution has made the major contribution to the art form of Kathakaḷi and insured its survival. Today the art is largely patronized by urban Kaṭhakaḷi art associations in the major cities (including the capital New Delhi) as well as by temples and wealthy upper-class families in Kerala.

The choreographic form and technical style of Kaṭhakaḷi are vigorous and dynamic, with a very wide dramatic range. It employs the dramatic theory of the classical tradition of the Śāstras in adapted form as do the other major dance and dance-drama traditions discussed. The meaningful gestures (hasta-mudrās) used in Kaṭhakaḷi are highly codified and range from pantomimic to abstract, such as the gestures which signify grammatical endings. The text for the gestures used in both Kaṭhakaḷi and Kūṭiyāṭṭam is the Hastalakṣaṇadīpikam,[6] that shows a number of departures from the hasta-mudrās as detailed in the Nāṭyaśāstra, Abhinayadarpaṇam, etc.

The instrumentation for the accompaniment of Kaṭhakaḷi is percussion and two male voices. The musical tradition is a variant 'operatic' style falling roughly within the system of South Indian classical Karnatic music. It retains however much from an earlier local tradition of temple music and has little stylistically in common with the concert form of Karnatic music.

The compositional pattern is based on a ślōkam or daṇḍakam (varieties of verse) sung without marked rhythm, followed by a padam with strict rhythmic accompaniment. The text of the ślōkam or daṇḍakam is in the third person and of an informing or descriptive content. It connects the scenes acted during the padams, that are sung in the first person as if the actor were speaking. Each line of the padam is followed by a kalāśam, an abstract dance sequence, usually accompanied by the singing of the first line of the padam. The number of lines of the padam may vary as well as the length and composition of the kalāśam, of which there are several forms for different classes of characters and situations, and for special dramas.

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[6] Tiruvangadu Narayana Nambissan (ed.), Hastalakṣaṇadīpikam, Kozhikode: K. R. Brothers, 1958. (Malayalam and Malayalam-transliterated Sanskrit.)

Other portions of the story, called ilikiyāṭṭams, are accompanied by percussion without text. An ilikiyāṭṭam is interpolated to intensify the bhāva or mood of the dramatic sequence. It gives the actor scope for improvisation, since he is not bound by the text but only by his own knowledge, technical ability, sense of theatre, and feeling for dramatic impact.

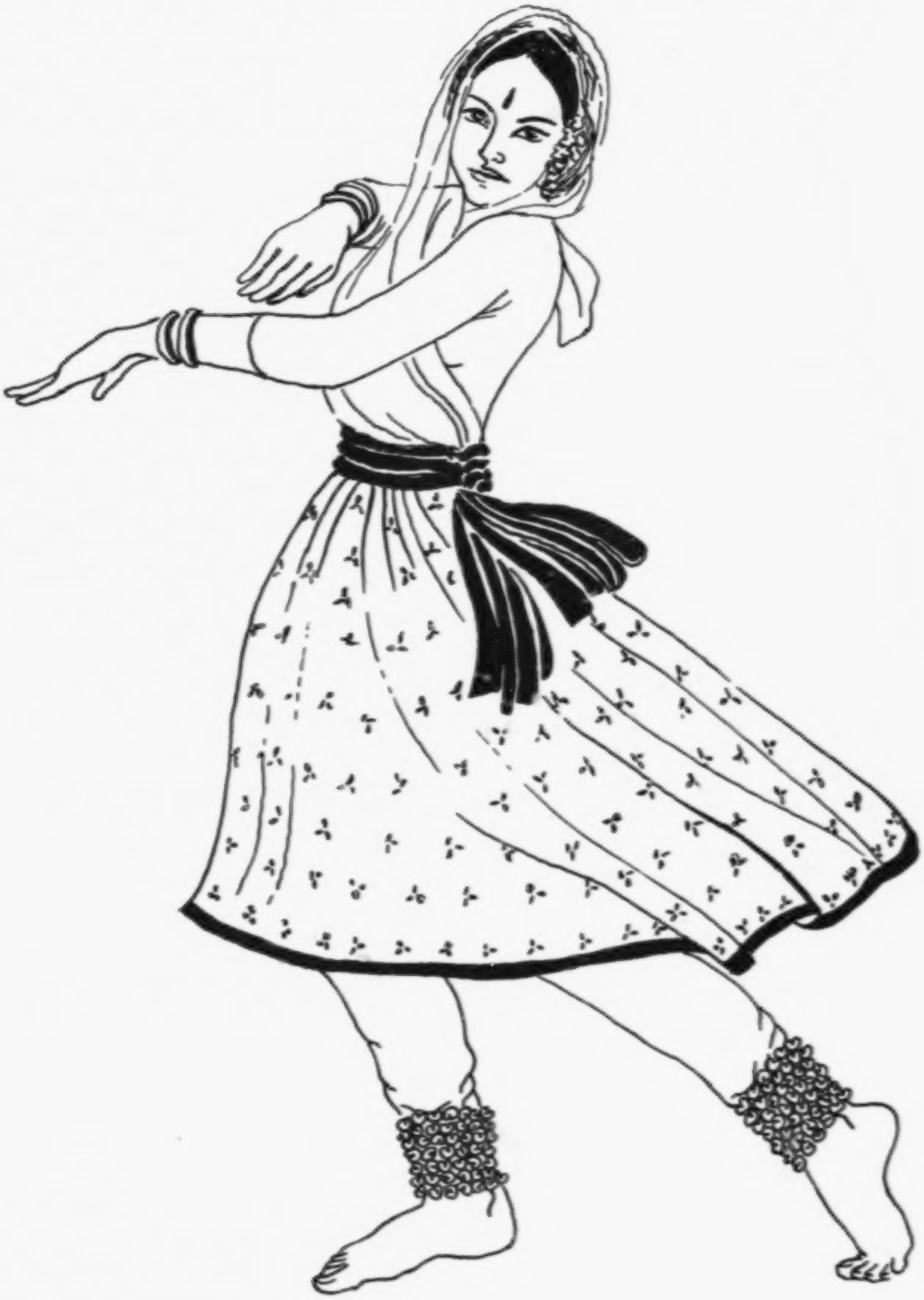
The performance of a Kaṭhakaḷi dance-drama is always preceded by a prelude of benedictory music (vandaṇam) and an abstract dance prelude (purappāṭu). Formerly this introductory portion was more elaborate with other additional items. The drama follows immediately, either in full length or in excerpt form; the performance concludes with a benedictory composition in ślōkam form.

The costume and makeup for Kaṭhakaḷi are highly stylized. They stem from the proto-form of Kaṭhakaḷi, Kūṭiyāṭṭam, and from the sculpture and painting traditions of the medieval period. The characters are conceived of as ideal types; standard costumes have evolved for kings, sages, women, demonic kings, hunters, evil characters, the avatāras of Viṣṇu, etc. For a few individual characters there are special makeups and costumes. All of these conceptions have become traditional with only minor areas for improvisation. The costume and makeup are designed to submerge the actor's personality into the ideal character represented. In this respect Kaṭhakaḷi shares a degree of stylization with many aspects of Chinese and Japanese theatre, particularly Kabuki. The basic colors used in Kaṭhakaḷi are red, green, black, white, yellow, and to a lesser degree orange and blue, with the addition of rich gold and silver. The effect is bizarre, opulent, and compelling, remarkably well suited for the epic themes which Kaṭhakaḷi portrays.

In the present period various new āṭṭakaṭhas, or Kaṭhakaḷi texts, have been written on themes ranging from 'Mary Magdalene' to 'The Life of Buddha' as well as lesser known incidents in the epics. None of these have been particularly successful, some, total failures. The need to make a full transition to the modern stage is certainly being attempted. So far the professional training and technical experience in modern methods of staging are lacking. In its traditional setting Kaṭhakaḷi is a major art form grippingly alive and meaningful. Forced to fit into a 'foreign' (i.e., quasi-Western) theatre frame, it is sometimes shorn of its context and meaning. When a proper theatre environment and restaging are tastefully arrived at, its full impact can be immediately felt even in the most sophisticated urban context.

V. Kathak

The Kathak tradition is a product of the Islamic-Hindu synthesis in art forms that began its widespread development in North India about the end of the 14th century. This was a process in architecture, painting, and the performing arts of music and dance that had its effects as far south as the southern Deccan and in the 18th and 19th



3. Kathak

centuries, though to a lesser degree, in the far South. The centers of the traditions that now dominate the dance form known as Kathak were substantially established by the end of the 17th century at Lahore, Delhi, Jaipur, Udaipur, Lucknow and Banaras. The two predominant schools today are acknowledged to be those of Lucknow and Jaipur.

Though historical data indicate that the art was originally in use for dramatic exposition of religious themes as part of temple ritual and celebration in pre-Mughul times, it is essentially the style developed in the courts that comes down to the present. The patronage of the ruling elite, who were predominantly Muslim, influenced many aspects of the art.

A class of literature, largely in the Hindi dialects, that developed in North India from about the 16th century as an expression of the Kṛṣṇa bhakti movement, had become the centerpiece of literary content interpreted in Kathak. The poetry of Sūrdās, Tulasīdās, Śankaradeva, Caitanya and Rāmprasād spread this intensely emotional and sensual theme of bhakti across all North India from Uttar Pradesh to Bengal. Later composers echoed and re-echoed the themes of the bhakti singers, elaborating on the mystic theme of spiritual love between the soul and God, and its counter theme of erotic love between the lover and beloved. Such thematic material was rich in imagery and reference to the divinity of the Hindu God Kṛṣṇa in the epics and Purāṇas, an aspect disturbing to sensitive Muslim patronage. Because of the obvious ideological differences, the aspect of puranic literature was minimized to the virtual exclusion of all but erotic themes and new emphasis was placed on the development of abstract dance movement and the exploitation of technique per se, particularly with regard to the mathematic and 'pure' excitements of a phenomenal mastery and development of rhythm and time. Far from harming this originally Hindu art, the patronage of Islam apparently enriched it by bringing to bear the stimulation of a legacy of Persian, Afghan and Middle Eastern Islamic art.[7]

There is a tendency by some in the present period to attempt to 'purify' what were for centuries the areas of collaboration and interpenetration of Hindu and Muslim culture. This can be seen at work here in much of the material written on Kathak dance and North Indian music (that is an integral part of this art).[8] There is no real separation of the elements except in the minds of those other than practicing dancers and musicians. The contributions and developments have been in effect equally Hindu and Muslim. Both were and are inseparably Indian. The patronage too was not exclusively Muslim. Any royal court, Hindu or Muslim, worth the name, which patronized the arts, had its musicians and Kathaks. At some the patronage was more constant and discriminating, extending for generations. At these courts the enduring centers of the art were established.

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[7] The potency of this Indo-Islamic influence in dance can be seen at its Western extremity in the Flamenco art of the gypsies of Spain.

[8] The basic accompaniment for Kathak is sārangī, tābla, and voice.

Kathak was and is essentially an art of the soloist or at most two or three soloists performing in addition an occasional duet or trio. Like Bharata Nāṭyam, Kathak is probably best presented as a salon art, a chamber art, in an intimate setting. The formal program of dance items formerly followed a relatively established order of presentation, drawn from an extensive repertoire of abstract dance compositions (such as amad, that, toro, tukra, paramelu, paran, salami, tatkar) and an equally wide range of poetic compositions in Hindi, Urdu, Persian or Sanskrit for subtle dramatic exposition (such as bhajan, aṣṭapadi, thumri, dadra, ghazal, kavita, torana and ghat). These were appropriately combined, often chosen or requested at the time of performance, as might be the case in a concert of classical music.

It is clear that the form of composition of Kathak in its highly developed concert aspect was influenced by the vocal and instrumental program of North Indian classical music as it has evolved up to the present period. The two are inextricably bound in much the same way as Bharata Nāṭyam is bound by the form of classical Karnatic music. Each in its own sphere is representative of the highest development of the concert dance-music traditions of the North and South. The dance-drama traditions, on the other hand, are developments slightly apart in which the literature of the theme dominates, circumscribing the degree of personal interpretation and limiting the manipulation of forms to the furthering of a single dramatic continuity from beginning to end.

Today it is nearly impossible to find Kathak presented in the older concert form. In the present period the art has developed a new aspect. The attempt to create 'dance-ballets' is the latest craze with experimentalists. Big rehearsed and set productions of eight, twelve or more dancers in a continuous story are preferred to the solo concert, another inroad of 'popularity,' the final effect of which we shall be able to see only in the coming ten or twenty years.

VI. Some Lesser Known Forms of Dance and Dance-Drama

A. Orissi

Two important and recently 'rediscovered' regional solo dance forms are Orissi and Mōhiniyāṭṭam. The first is from the Oriya speaking state of Orissa. It is largely a recreated style and tradition built upon the dances of the Mahāri female temple dancers and the Gotipua dancers, young men who performed dressed as women. From these two communities come many of Orissa's traditional musicians as well. Orissa has an ancient historical tradition in art and dance as distinguished as any in India. The current tradition is not older in its present form than the 17th century; there are, however, numerous illustrated palm-leaf manuscripts on the art of dance in Orissa, one of the few areas in India where such documentation has survived. These texts are variant local traditions adapted from the older classical texts of the Śāstras on dance and drama.

The main centers of the Orissi dance art in the present are Cuttack, Bhubaneswar and Puri. In the earlier period the art was supported by the temples and courts of the ruling elite; today the State and a few private institutions sustain it. It has reached public recognition outside of Orissa only in the last ten years.

One of the most distinctive features of the Orissi style is that the choreography reflects the movement quality of the Assamese-Maṇipūri lyric grace, elements of structure and style related to the Kathak tradition of North India, and a basic stance of the lower body and legs that is more closely related to the Bharata Nāṭyam style of the South. The geographic position of Orissa seems to reinforce this phenomenon.

The music tradition is basically a part of the North Indian school of music. The pattern of performance of Orissi, though the specific vocabulary of movement is distinct, follows the common pattern of an invocational prelude, proceeding to compositions of alternating abstract dance and textual interpretation by means of abhinaya. The texts have as their usual subject one of the deities of the Hindu pantheon, as in the case of Bharata Nāṭyam, Mōhiniyāṭṭam, and other female dance forms employing abhinaya. The language of the songs interpreted in Orissi is Oriya and Sanskrit. A particular feature of the Orissi repertoire is the rendering of verses from the Gīta Govinda of Jāyadeva, c. 12th century, who is claimed as a native of Orissa. The Gīta Govinda is a common literary source, however, for almost all the traditional dance forms in India today. Its prevailing emotional mood of eroticism (sṛngāra) and devotion (bhakti) makes it ideal for this purpose.

The revived Orissi dance style was 'rediscovered' after the controversy and social stigma had virtually subsided. It is a late competitor for all-India recognition in the fieldof traditional dance.

B. Mōhiniyāṭṭam

This female solo dance form of Kerala has a known history in its present form only from the beginning of the 19th century. Its special development is believed to be a reflection of the extended influence of Karnatic music and the Tanjore style of Bharata Nāṭyam in Kerala under the patronage of the Maharaja Svāti Tirunāḷ. Svāti Tirunāḷ, a musician himself, was a patron of the famous composer Vādivelu of Tanjore, doyen of the reformation of Bharata Nāṭyam (see Section III). The musical compositions now in vogue for Mōhiniyāṭṭam are attributed to the collaboration of these two. The composition of the major works (jatisvarams and vārṇams) are contested by some to be exclusively the work of the composer Vādivelu, and the larger part of the texts and composition of padams, to be the work of Svāti

Tirunāḷ, the Maharaja.[9] Particularly the compositions in Malayalam and Sanskrit are considered to be definitely the work of the Maharaja. At the time of the Maharaja's death the court musicians were disbanded; among them was one Paramesvara Bhāgavatār, who returned to his native place at Palghat, Kerala. From this geographical area, primarily, descends the current tradition.

The items of Mōhiniyāṭṭam follow the formal series of the more highly developed Bharata Nāṭyam recital. The range of movement and expression, however, is less sophisticated than that found in the dazzling court form of Bharata Nāṭyam. In vocabulary of movement, Mōhiniyāṭṭam has but a tenuous link with Bharata Nāṭyam; it shows some affinity with other South Indian forms, and has derived some of its choreographic motifs from Kaṭhakaḷi and from Kai Koṭṭikkaḷi, a highly developed form of Kerala folk dance for women.

Historically Mōhiniyāṭṭam is one of several examples of the extent and influence of the high period of the 18th and 19th centuries when Tanjore was a primary arbiter of taste and accomplishment in the last princely courts of South India, such as Mysore and Travancore. In the last quarter of the 19th century the Tanjore tradition in dance was seen as far north as the court of Baroda as part of the retinue of a Tanjore Maratha princess who was married to the ruling Maratha house of Baroda.

Mōhiniyāṭṭam was patronized largely by the minor princely courts of Kerala and by the landed Nambūdiri (brāhmaṇ) and Nāyar aristocracy up to the first decades of the present century. Though on occasion it was performed in temple precincts, it was not essentially a temple art as was the tradition in Tamilnad, Mysore, and elsewhere in South India. The musicians and dancers in the past came largely from the Nāyar military-agrarian classes. In recent times the few remaining traditions of Mōhiniyāṭṭam have been taught at the Kerala State academy of the arts, Kerala Kalamandalam.

C. Bhāgavata Mēḷa Nāṭaka

There are two predominant traditions, the parent form centering in the Andhra area in the village of Kuchipudi; the later tradition from about the 17th century is centered at Melattur in Tanjore District, Madras State. This is an exclusively brāhmaṇ all-male tradition of acting and dancing plays based on themes from the Purāṇas as yearly offerings to the local temple deities. It is primarily a Vaiṣṇava bhakti tradition.

This tradition had diminished severely until the last ten or fifteen years. Various attempts have been made in the recent past to revive it and recreate it for the modern stage. The latest effort is to popularize it as a theatre solo dance form for women. This last development, for which the art was never meant, has insured a dubious popularity which is overshadowing its original function and meaning as a valid socio-religious expression. This is one of the recurrent problems with these traditional arts; taken out of their original context they often become little more than a 'popular entertainment.'

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[9] Colkeṭṭu, however, the traditional invocational dance item which occurs first in a program of Mōhiniyāṭṭam, is from an earlier period; its source cannot be traced.

D. Kūṭiyāṭṭam

Kūṭiyāṭṭam, the only surviving tradition of presenting Sanskrit drama and the proto-form of Kaṭhakaḷi, today finds itself in a precarious situation, though it is still performed in the temples of Kerala State. Its inordinate length tries the patience of the contemporary Malayali, who does not have the infinite leisure that was the prerogative of his ancestors. Recent efforts to reform Kūṭiyāṭṭam and restore it to a place of popularity, at least among the upper classes, are a hopeful indication that this ancient tradition, with the historical and sociological data inherent in it, may not be lost entirely. The repertoire, however, has already diminished to a great degree.

E. Yakṣagāṇa

Yakṣagaṇa, a dance-drama form found in Mysore State, is also in a perilous condition. Stylized as to costume and makeup,[10] Yakṣagāṇa employs voice for both singing and speaking, and improvised conversations among the actors as well. Thus the use of gesture has become minimal and, further, the level of communication is not well sustained outside its own linguistic area.

In the past Yakṣagāṇa was generously supported by local temples, princes, and the feudal landed aristocracy. The traditional actors, who are farmers, oil-pressers, etc., still perform seasonally between harvest time and planting, under the patronage of local landowners and temples. But with changing social and economic conditions, this patronage has diminished more and more. The art is at present totally unsubsidized by the Government or any State-endowed institution. Some troupes have moved to the cities and 'cinematized' their presentation; there is, however, little urban interest in the *traditional* form of Yakṣagāṇa except at an official 'cultural exhibition.' A few troupes have clung to the tradition and, aided by the heroic efforts of a very few dedicated intellectuals, seek to maintain it in the hope that either Government subsidy or a reawakening of public interest will make its future secure.

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[10] At present realistic costume is used for female characters (played by men), but these were also formerly stylized.

VII. The Current State of Traditional Forms of Dance and Dance-Drama and Their Future

The future of many of these traditional arts is still very much in doubt. One of the several unresolved questions that face theatre generally in India is that of the difference between 'show business,' 'amateur theatre,' and 'professional theatre.' There is little understanding on the part of the general public as to what these three concepts mean. At present there is a confusion of theatrical approaches, few of them clearly defined, and most of them threatened by management that is seldom professionally trained or experienced in theatre. The competent theatre executive can scarcely be found.

Other problems exist. (1) There is a strong tendency among women in the arts to give up their careers before they become mature artists. There are, however, a few courageous artists who decline to conform to what is in effect a social-moral ban on women performing publicly after marriage. (2) The few fine companies of professional level dancers and actors are not seen with any effective regularity except in their own immediate locale. Beyond linguistic and subcultural boundaries, the level of communication tends to diminish as well. (3) The continuing process of adopting 'cinema style' and techniques is threatening to destroy traditional dance and dance-drama, because a truly successful transition of traditional art to the modern Indian stage has not yet been established.

The influence of the cinema is felt equally in the sophisticated urban areas and in the rural villages. In the commercial world of the cities, where there are greater variety and competition for effect and a preoccupation with novelty, tradition is largely ignored as an arbiter of taste. 'Flash' and 'sell' supply the keynote of nearly every film, most of which have dance and song elements, and many of which are based on an historical period of the past, invariably misrepresented. Though the educated modern Indian 'nagarika' would be expected to be more discerning, the evidence belies this. Young people today have too often the film star as an image to which to aspire, rather than the great artists of the tradition. In the rural areas where India's finest dancers and musicians are too seldom if ever seen, the garish novelty of the dream world of the ubiquitous cinema tends to be the major arbiter of taste and innovation. There are of course elements among the intellectuals who know and understand the tradition and its evolution and who are unperturbed by the glitter of the 'cinema bazaar.' These are a small minority compared to the masses who are becoming the new patrons of the arts. What the future effect of the cinema will be is unpredictable.

A central point of difficulty and perhaps the really basic problem is the transition from a social-religious context, associated with the quasi-feudal village-temple-court setting of the past, into the contemporary urban 'internationalized' largely secular atmosphere of the commercial ticketed theatre. The Government of India has performed a remarkable task in setting up machinery to subsidize many of these arts and their representative schools through grants-in-aid and scholarship programs administered by the Ministry of Education, the Sangeet Natak Akademi, and the Bharatiya Natya Sangh, New Delhi, and their offices in each State. The Government has endeavored to advise but not to interfere with the local developments of these arts. What still persists is the confusion of method in translating successfully an essentially medieval art tradition, with all it connotes, into a meaningful and expressive part of modern urban secular theatre and society. The major dance-drama forms tend to suffer most in this transition, coming from an essentially rural-religious context that is not reproducible in the present-day urban theatre. The solo or concert forms of dance make this transition more easily via their development in the courts of discriminating royal patrons.

The present tradition in theatre building in India is still geared for a predominantly Western-oriented theatre, an influence dating from the mid-19th century. There must emerge a structural and environmental situation that can accommodate the traditional theatre successfully, a theatre complex that can be adapted to the wider range of expression that is the emerging theatre of India. Notable examples of new developments in this direction are the outdoor theatres designed by the National School of Drama in New Delhi for large-scale productions. Another example is the smaller-scale outdoor theatre at the Triveni Kala Sangam School, also in New Delhi. Both of these approach the solution of this basic problem.

The advances in the past twenty-five years have been remarkable; mass audio-visual communication techniques as they are developed will aid primarily in future development. A more informed and discriminating public in India, who will demand and support only the best, will be the ultimate answer to the future of all these art forms.

INDIA'S MUSIC

Robert E. Brown

I. Introduction

Music seems to have been held in high esteem by the Hindus from earliest times. It has remained such a powerful cultural force that it was able to withstand successfully even the heavy onslaught of Islamic puritanism during the Mughul period. This epoch, in fact, became one of important musical developments. Given the Hindu propensity to absorb and accommodate many varieties of cultural divergence, it is not surprising that India has been one of the two major wellsprings of musical influence in Asia, the other main center being China. The mainstream of India's art music tradition, broad and deep, has been fed by countless smaller streams through centuries of evolution. Even today many musical systems exist side by side in India, especially on the folk and tribal level. The musical richness of the sub-continent is now making itself felt more and more strongly in the West as modern media of rapid communication break down the barriers of time and distance that isolated Indian music in the past.

To survey this vast and varied tradition it will be helpful to group India's music into familiar categories: folk, tribal, popular, religious, classical, ancient, modern. It is well to remember, however, that in India, more than in the West, these categories often tend to blur into one another, and such categorization over-simplifies a situation that is in reality anything but simple. All Indian musical traditions are essentially oral traditions. Until much more than the smattering of folk music now available has been recorded or described, for instance, we cannot speak with much authority on that particular subject. In the case of the ancient music, there are enormous difficulties in working with the lengthy technical descriptions of a music that has disappeared as sound. Even with the classical music of present day North and South India, much that is important lies in the minds and fingers of individual musicians who carry the tradition. As in the West, theory often exists as a subject related to, but distinct from, music as sound. However, as elsewhere the theoretical system can have a fascinating life and development of its own. It is more difficult to discuss Indian than European music as theory and history, since in the West a particular kind of documentation has been possible because of the relatively highly refined system of musical notation. However, many contemporary western composers feel that our notation has closed off important avenues for expression. The Indian musician approaches his art 'through his ears,' commits astonishing amounts of musical information to memory, and has the opportunity for a full expression of self by improvising within a rich and varied musical tradition.

Artistic experience is generally equated with religious experience in India, and music has been described as one of the quickest paths toward the realization of divinity:

> We adore that Supreme Being of the form of sound [Nāda-Brahman] which is the one bliss without a second, and the light of consciousness in all beings that has manifested itself in the form of the universe. By the adoration of sound [nāda] are also adored Gods Brahmā [the Creator], Vishnu [the Preserver], and Maheśvara [Shiva, the Destroyer], for they are the embodiments of sound.[1]

The Vedas allude to a number of musical instruments, mainly drums, stringed instruments (probably harps), and flutes. Musicians are listed among the victims in the human sacrifice ritual (puruṣamedha). Indians have always looked upon the chanting of the Vedas, especially the Sāma Veda, as the source of their classical music tradition. The names of famous legendary musician-sages--Nārada, Bharata, Tumburu--have come down from the ancient past, and a special class of demigods, the gandharvas, provided the celestial music of Indra's heaven. Myths about music are numerous and emphasize the importance of accurate performance as well as the proper mental attitude, one of humility and reverence.

A theory of aesthetics based on eight (later nine) emotional states, the rasas, united music with the arts of dance, dramatics and poetry, and was already elaborately systematized by the beginning of the Christian era. Certain musical modes, rhythms, and instruments properly used could help to develop specific emotional states in a theatrical production when combined with the corresponding verse forms, gestures, movement, etc., and instructions for their employment are compiled in the Nāṭyaśāstra, ascribed to Bharata. Later, the burgeoning of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult and the bhakti movement had important influences on musical development, as did the mingling of Islamic and Hindu cultural patterns in the Mughul period.

One of the great difficulties for the outsider attempting to penetrate musical thought is its enormous technical vocabulary, principally Sanskrit, without which it is impossible to discuss theoretical concepts. Most of the terms suffer distortion in translating, and there are unique areas of melodic and rhythmic theory that have no parallel in the West. As the various categories of Indian music are now taken up in order, the most essential terms will be introduced and briefly explained.

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[1] From the 13th century musical treatise, the *Saṅgītaratnākara* of Śārṅgadeva, cited in Wm. Theodore De Bary (ed.), *Sources of Indian Tradition*, New York: Columbia U. Press, 1958, p. 275.

II. Vedic Music

A glance at the Vedic chant, perhaps the oldest continuous musical tradition in the world, may illumine some basic concepts and premises of music in India.

In general, the recitation of the oldest of the Vedas, the Ṛg Veda, is a kind of heightened speech on a principal reciting tone embellished by a tone above and a tone below to help emphasize the grammatical accents (udātta, anudātta, svarita). There are seven principal poetic meters, and although vowels are either short or long and this length is essential to the meaning, Vedic prosody is based on the number of syllables (either long or short) in a line, as opposed to the later Classical Sanskrit prosody, in which elaborate metrical schemes are based on repetitive patterns of long and short syllables. Sensitivity to the durational aspect of syllables in language, rather than dynamic stress, is directly linked to the concept of rhythm in terms of durational units in music.

Among those responsible for the oral transmission of the Vedic corpus, there has been a constant attempt to prevent any possible change in the text, or in the manner of reciting it. Among devices used were bodily gesture (head movement, finger counting), one of the oldest systems of musical notation (derived from the syllabic writing system), and a type of mathematical permutation of the order of syllables in the text without regard to rational meaning, called vṛtta. All of these can be related to later, specifically musical, practices. In spite of such safeguards, several styles of recitation (Kauthumī, Raṇāyanī, Jaiminī etc.) developed. Nevertheless, the differences in Vedic chant styles are relatively small when one considers the antiquity of the tradition.

The Sāma Veda is the most developed musically, and may be thought of as a melodically heightened version of the Ṛg Veda. Meaningless syllables called stobhas were inserted profusely and aided melodic development in a range extended to six tones. The style of singing the Sāma Veda is more melismatic than the straightforward chanting of the Ṛg Veda that has predominantly one vocal tone for one syllable of the text.

Until recently it was extremely difficult to study or record Vedic music, for it was closely guarded by the carriers of the tradition. Detailed studies of the musical aspects remain to be made, but certain general concepts are clear: an agogic (length rather than dynamic stress) principle in the textual rhythm, strict attention to clear and accurate intonation of musical tone, a modal and basically diatonic concept of melody, bodily gesture combined with tone production, and the mathematical process of permutation applied to a series of basic elements (in this case the syllables of the text).

Recording: A Musical Anthology of the Orient. India I (Vedic Recitation and Chant). Barenreiter BM 30 L 2006.

III. Ancient Classical Music

A flourishing tradition of court music is represented plastically in early Buddhist sculpture, beginning with the 2nd century B.C. stone carvings on the gateways of the stupa at Sānchī. The same music is alluded to descriptively in such literary monuments as the Śilappadigāram, a Tamil work of the 2nd century, and in the somewhat later poems and dramas of Kālidāsa. The theory of this music has come down to us, albeit in a partially corrupted textual version, in the most famous of theoretical treatises, the Nāṭyaśāstra, ascribed to the sage Bharata. This impressive manual on theater in all aspects devotes some six of its thirty-six chapters to music. The present English translation[2] leaves much to be desired, although it must be admitted that the descriptive details of the original text are often ambiguous or unclear. The main features of the ancient music are readily apparent, even in translation, and provide a recognizable foundation for development of the rāga and tāla systems of contemporary India.

Music in India is divided into two aspects: gīta ('song') and vādya ('instrument'), although the technique of melodic instruments is never far from the vocal idiom. The earliest general term for 'music' (gāndharva), gave place to the term now in use, sangīta ('all the songs'). Although the word tāla (literally 'base') is used in the Nāṭyaśāstra to refer to the rhythmic side of music, the word rāga ('that which pleases') is used for the melodic side only from about the 5th century A.D., when it appears in Matanga's Bṛhaddeśi.

Instruments are grouped in four categories: tata (strings), avanaddha (drums), ghana (solid, or ideophones), and suṣira (winds), a rational classification for instruments arrived at by European curators and musicologists only in the late 19th century. The usual orchestra accompanying the dance in early sculpture consists of one or more arched harps, a flute, one or more drums, sometimes a long-necked lute, and often a group of three or four singers, one of whom keeps the time measure with small hand cymbals. From text and sculpture we can ascertain the stopping of harp strings with the fingers to produce more than one tone per string, the production of ornaments and use of half-open holes on the flute, and the command of several drums by one player, undoubtedly to produce different tones from each of the (generally four) drumheads. All of these refinements have something to say about the sophistication of the music, just as the number of varied gestures and poses in the sculpture make silent comment on the subtlety of the dance.

Several important melodic concepts pertaining to Indian music are described in the Nāṭyaśāstra. Division of the octave into twenty-two fixed microtonal intervals called śrutis is worked out mathematically and also demonstrated practically with two harps, differently tuned. Only a certain number of śrutis, generally 5, 6, or 7, would be used at one time. These are arranged in ascending scalar progression. Each scale step is called a svara, and there is a maximum number of seven: ṣaḍja, ṛṣabha, gāndhāra, madhyama, pañcama, dhaivata, and niṣāda. Abbreviations of the first syllable of each of these scalar degrees (sa, ri, ga ma, pa, dha ni) have been used as a solfege in India since at least two thousand years ago, and are still prominently used, for instance, in South Indian vocal improvisation. Once the pitch of the key note (sa) has been established, the fifth (pa), if it is present, is always an interval of a perfect fifth above sa. However, the other svaras may each be one of several different possible pitches, but they must always appear in the same sequence. Ri, for instance, is always above sa and below ga, although the exact interval relationship of the three tones can vary from one mode to the next.

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[2] Nāṭyaśāstra, transl. by Manmohan Ghosh, Calcutta: the Asiatic Society, Vol. 1, 1951; Vol. 2, 1961.

In the early music there were two basic source scales, called grāmas. Sachs[3] speculates that the sa-grāma and ma-grāma stood in the same relationship to one another as our medieval authentic and plagal modes, that is, that they represented related tonal groupings, one in medium, the other in a lower range of the voice. Earlier there had been a third grāma, the ga-grāma, described as having 'retreated to Indra's heaven.' Indian pundits are still debating the exact nature of the grāmas, but it is at least clear that they were a certain basic selection of seven tones from the twenty-two śrutis (fixed microtonal intervals). By treating each of these seven tones in turn as a new tonal center (sa). seven mūrchanās, or modal inversions having different interval structure, could be worked out. This too, bears an astonishing resemblance to western medieval theory as applied to the Gregorian chant. The mūrchanās were called pūrṇa (full) if all seven tones were used, ṣāḍava if six tones were used, and auḍava if they were pentatonic. Within each of the mūrchanās were a number of possible jātis, or melody-types that seem to resemble the later rāgas. These were classified as either śuddhā ('pure'), or vikṛtā ('modified') For each there were certain predominant tones (aṃśa), permissible notes for beginning phrases (graha) and ending them (nyāsa), etc. The different jātis were associated with certain sentiments (rasas) and their effective use in a dramatic production was specified. Different types of embellishment (varṇa and alaṃkāra) gave them color and grace, and they were employed with poetic text in dramatic songs of complex form called dhruvās.

Especially interesting for the western student is the systematic theory of rhythm that later came to be called the tāla daśa prāṇas ('ten life-breaths of rhythm'), for this aspect of music has been strangely neglected in European theory.

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3. Curt Sachs, The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, New York: W. W. Norton, 1943, p. 168.

Several different methods for working out a basic unit for the measurement of time are described. One of the more poetic involved taking a stack of one hundred lotus petals, through which one was to plunge a needle. The time taken to pass through one petal was called a kṣana ('instant'), a unit of time too small for human perception and discernible only by the gods. After several stages of doubling, it was elongated to a basic, musically useful, time unit, the mātrā. Another way of determining the approximate length of the mātrā was to recite the first syllables of five important groups in the Sanskrit syllabary, kacaṭatapa, at a normal rate of speed.

From the mātrā were derived three metrical units, the laghu (one mātrā), guru (two mātrās), and pluta (three mātrās). These three aṅgas ('limbs') could be combined in different ways to form an āvarta, or metrical cycle of the tāla. For example, one such tāla in the ancient Mārga Tāla system was called Caccatpuṭaḥ, and had the aṅga structure: guru-guru-laghu-pluta (2-2-1-3). This eight-beat metrical cycle was repeated over and over as the musical measure of a particular composition.

Various hand gestures, called kriva, were used by singers to 'keep the tāla' in visual form. The krivas were divided into two types: saśabda ('with sound'), for instance a handclap, and niḥśabda ('soundless'), such as the stylized wave of the hand in different directions or finger counting. For some kinds of music, small hand cymbals outlined the tāla structure. Still today, one will find South Indian singers 'keeping the tāla' with handclaps, waves, and finger counting. The nāgasvaram, or reed pipe, player is accompanied by the tavil drum and the tāḷam, small bronze hand cymbals to indicate the aṅga structure.

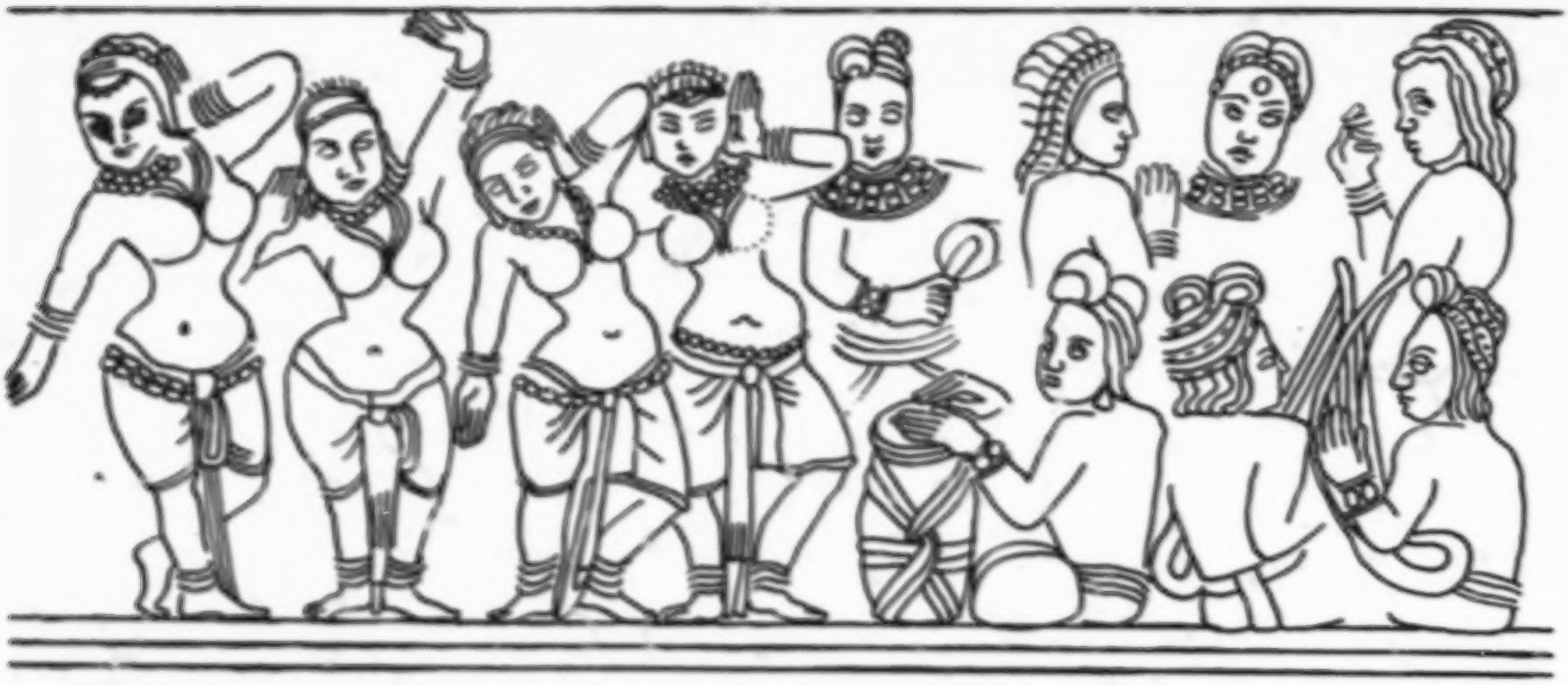
The setting of a melody in a tāla is treated under the prāṇa heading of mārga ('way, path'), and the subdivision of the mātrā under the heading, kala. Main phrases of the melody might begin on the first beat of the tāla cycle, or just before or just after it. The various possibilities were systematized under the heading graha. Exploitation of the rhythmic tension that can exist when the beginning of the melodic phrase and the beginning of the tāla cycle do not coincide is an important technique in contemporary composition and improvisation in South Indian classical music.

Five basic lengths of rhythmic units, the jātis, were found useful. Listed in the order of importance, they are caturaśra (4), tiśra (3), miśra (7), khaṇḍa (5), and saṅkīrṇa (9). Tempo is analyzed under the heading of laya. The three basic tempi were vilambita laya (slow), madhya laya (medium), and druta laya (fast).

Two prāṇas of special interest are vati and prastāra. Yati is a concept of rhythmic design based on geometrical shape. This idea might be applied to various aspects of rhythm, such as the sequence of tempi, arrangement of aṅgas within the āvarta, rhythmical phrase patterns of drumming, etc. The six possibilities are sama yati, in which all components are of equal size; śrotovaha ('river'), going from smaller to larger; gopuccha ('cow's tail'), going from larger to smaller; ḍamaru ('hourglass drum'), larger to smaller to larger; mṛdaṅga yati ('barrel drum'), smaller to larger to smaller; and viṣama yati ('unequal'), for designs not covered in the other categories. Prastāra concerns application of the mathematical process of permutation to determine, for example, all of the possible combinations of aṅgas that could be used in creating a tāla of a given number of mātras. The roots of the prastāra concept can be traced to the vṛtta rearrangements of syllables in the memorization of Vedic texts. The principle appears today in such practices as svara prastāra, improvisation of ever-changing combinations of notes (svaras), as well as the permutation and combination of small phrase patterns to create constantly new rhythmic phrases in drumming improvisation.

It is significant that the elaborate theory of ancient Indian music is most fully expounded in a manual (śāstra) on the drama (nāṭya), for the arts were intermingled and fully integrated within the rounded and unified cultural pattern of that time. Sculptured poses of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, and Amarāvatī come to life in the famous description of the heroine Mādavi's debut as a dancer in the 2nd century Tamil epic Śilappadikāram. Here we catch glimpses of the musical life of an ancient city Madurai, seat of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty. Although the terminology is mainly Tamil, it is evident even in a brief excerpt that theory and technique were systematically imparted in the careful training of dancers and musicians.

> The talaikkōl, or the staff, was the central shaft of a splendid white umbrella captured in the battle-field from monarchs of great repute. It was covered over by purest jāmbūnada gold, its joints bedecked with nine gems. This staff represented Jayanta, Indra's son, and as such was worshipped in the palace of the protecting king of the white umbrella (the Cōla).
>
> On the day on which this staff was to be used by the dancing-girl, she had to bathe it with holy waters, brought in a golden pitcher, and afterwards to garland it. Then it was handed over with a blessing to the State elephant already adorned with a plate of gold and other ornaments on its forehead. To the accompaniment of the drum proclaiming victory, and other musical instruments, the king and his five groups of advisers were to circumambulate the chariot and the elephant and give the talaikkōl to the musician-poet on the top of the chariot. Then they went round the town in a procession, and entering the theatre they placed the talaikkōl in its appointed position.
>
> After this the instrument-players occupied their allotted seats. The dancing-girl (Mādavi) placed her right foot forward, and stepping in, stayed by the side of the pillar on the right, according to the ancient custom. Likewise her older assistants who followed the old custom gathered themselves by the side of the pillar on the left. The two kinds of prayer (vāram) were sung in turn so that

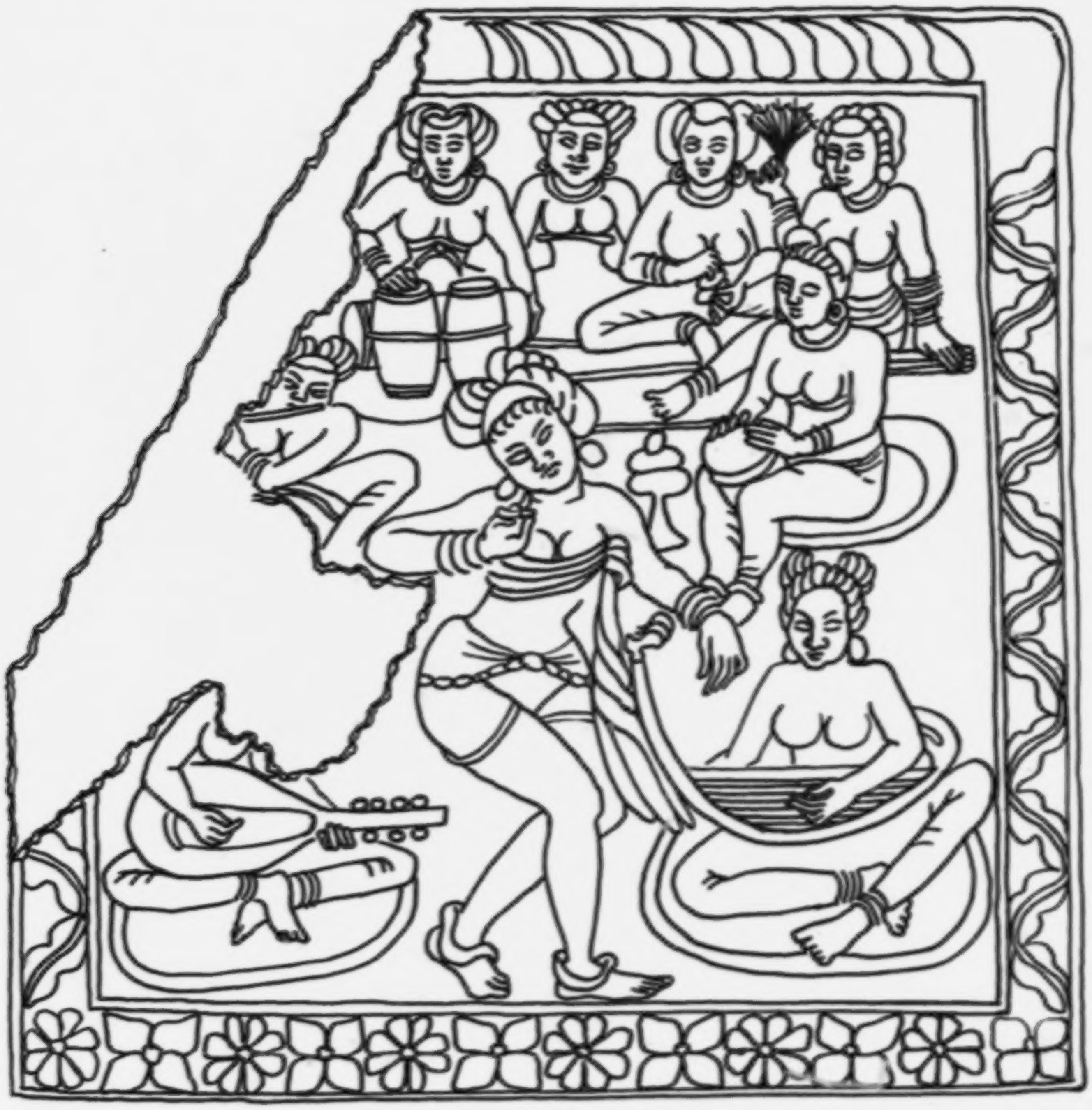


4. Relief from Bhārhut stupa (early 1st cent. B.C.). Note musical instruments.
(copy from Benjamin Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1953, Plate 17)

virtue might increase and vice might disappear. At the close of the prayer all the musical instruments held by the respective players were sounded. The lute was in tune with the flute, and the mṛdangam with the lute. The resounding note was in tune with the mṛdangam, and the āmantirikai with the sound of the pot. Each was in perfect harmony with the other. Two beats made one maṇḍilam, and eleven such maṇḍilams were executed in conformity with the established theatrical practice. When this musical act, called antarakkoṭṭu, was over, the auspicious pālaippaṇ was sung without the slightest violence to its rigid measure.

The four parts of the auspicious song were suitably introduced. Beginning with three maṇḍilams (or ottus) it ended with one ottu (ēkatāḷam); with this captivating maṇḍilam the dēśi dance came to an end.

Mādavi also danced the vaḍuku dance. Then it appeared as if the five-beat-mode of each of the two styles of dancing, dēśi and vaḍuku, was concentrated in one style--so captivating was her dance. In her quick movement she looked like a golden creeper animated with life. Because her dance was perfect and scientifically correct, the king, who protected the world, in due recognition, presented her with a green leaf-garland and one thousand and eight kaḷañjus of gold, which was the customary present given to dancers who held the talikkōl and exhibited their talents for the first time.



5. Relief from Pawaya (1st cent. A.D.). Note musical instruments.

(copy from Curt Sachs, The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, New York: W. W. Norton, 1940, facing page 192.

> Fawn-eyed Mādavi handed over a garland to a hunchbacked woman, and asked her to stand out in the street where the rich citizens of the city passed to and fro, as if she was offering it for sale, and to announce that 'this garland is worth a sum of 1008 kaḷañjus of very excellent gold. He who buys this garland becomes the husband of our creeperlike lady'. The garland representing the large lotus-eyed Mādavi was purchased by Kōvalan, and, accompanied by the hunchback, he entered Mādavi's bridal chamber, and as he embraced her he was captivated so much by her charms that he forgot himself and did not like to part from her. In sooth, he forgot his own unsullied home and wife.[4]

IV. North Indian Classical Music

The great musical treatise of the medieval period, the Saṅgītaratnākara of Śarṅgadeva, is known to have been written between 1210 and 1247, in the central Indian city of Devagiri (modern Daulatābād). It sums up the Nāṭyaśāstra, as well as a number of less important intervening works, and develops in great detail the theory of the rāga and tāla systems of that age. These were the ancestors of present day North Indian, or Hindustani, music, which was nurtured and flourished in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Mughul courts.

Unlike the Nāṭyaśāstra, the Saṅgītaratnākara is devoted entirely to music, although there is a chapter on the dance. Because all later works refer to it, it may be considered the keystone work of Indian musical theory. The outlines of melodic analysis given in the Nāṭyaśāstra are expanded in detail, as is the rhythmic theory. Expansion of the musical practice itself is indicated by the much larger number of modes, now called rāgas, which Śarṅgadeva mentions. Whereas the ancient Mārga Tāla system was based on only five meters, the Deśī Tāla system of the Saṅgītaratnākara includes some 120 tālas, many of them having a large number of aṅgas. The variety of aṅgas has increased to six. Although a few of the tālas can be shown to be creations of the author, there is no doubt that a large number of them were in actual use. In complexity, they may be compared to the intricate poetic meters of classical Sanskrit, lengthy patterns of long and short syllables in a particular order.

Although basic principles of rāga and tāla are the same, there is a definite stylistic cleavage between North and South Indian music of the present day. Scholars disagree as to whether or not these differences have always been pronounced, for there are no strong indications of such a situation in musical treatises until after the 13th century. Today there are important differences in the instruments used, particular rāgas and tālas, the types of ornamentation, musical forms, and other details, although both systems trace their theory back to the Nāṭyaśāstra and Saṅgītaratnākara.

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[4] Aḍiyārkkunallār, The Śilappadikaram, transl. by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 102–105.

Until recently, North Indian music has been an aristocratic art reserved for the courts and upper levels of society. Even at present the audience for classical music in North India is relatively smaller than in the South. Partly because of the number of princely courts, a variety of different gharānās (schools or styles) evolved. Since improvisation plays such an important role, performing musicians have strongly influenced the direction of musical development. In addition, each geographical region has had its own personality, musically speaking. The finest musicians of the past are known, and several of the foremost performers at the present time, for instance, trace their musical lineage directly to the famous Tān Sen, brilliant singer at the court of the Emperor Akbar.

A North Indian rāga may be expounded in a number of ways. One of the most common is the ālāp, wherein the melodic characteristics are exploited in free rhythm, without words if the soloist is a singer. The characteristic phrases that have been developed over the years bring out the beauty and unique personality of the rāga, emphasize its particular tones, establish their hierarchy of importance, and the appropriate ornaments. The singer gradually extends the range in ever-changing combinations of phrases to create a powerful musical and emotional mood for whichever rāga he has chosen. In the North, the rāgas are associated with definite periods of the day or night, seasons, festivals, or natural phenomena like the monsoon or fire, and are performed only at the proper time. They have also been personified in miniature paintings, and have iconographic associations. Toḍī Rāgiṇī, for example, is usually shown as a lady in a white sari, playing a stringed instrument (bīn), and attended by deer or gazelles that have come to listen.

The rāga is sometimes used in conjunction with a text, and this is generally set in a particular tāla, or meter. There are various song forms, the most common being the khyāl, a relatively short set piece used as the basis for improvisation. Other important song forms are the lighter and more erotically inspired thumrīs, and the more difficult dhrupads and dhamārs. Dhrupad singing is an older style than khyāl, and requires highly-trained control of the voice. It is ordinarily accompanied only with the barrel-drum, pakhāvaj. Perhaps because it demands so much concentration on the part of the listener, it is not often heard at present, and there are few performers left. Nevertheless, it remains one of the most beautiful and profound genres of North Indian music.

Recordings: Khyal and Thumri
a. Khansahib Abdul Karim Khan. Odeon MOAE 144.
b. Surshri Kesar Bai Kerkar. Odeon (to be released)

Recordings: Khyal and Thumri (cont.)

- c. Ameer Khan. Ragas Marwa and Darbari Kanada. Odeon MOAE - 130.
- d. Bhimsen Joshi. Ragas Malkauns and Maru-Bihag. Odeon MOCE 1029.

Dhrupad

- a. A Musical Anthology of the Orient. India III (Dhrupads). Khansahib Nasir Moinuddin Dagar and Khansahib Nasir Aminuddin Dagar, Ragas Asaveri and Bhairavi. Pakhavaj solo by Chhatrapati Singh. Barenreiter BM 30 L 2018.
- b. Dagar Brothers, Ragas Darbari Kanada and Adana. Pakhavaj accompaniment by S.V. Patwardhan. Odeon MOAE 135.

Ananda Coomaraswamy, in his essay on Indian music in The Dance of Shiva, sums up the attitude Indian musicians have toward their art.

> The Indian singer is a poet, and the poet a singer. The dominant subject matter of the songs is human or divine love in all its aspects, or the direct praise of God, and the words are always sincere and passionate. The more essentially the singer is a musician, however, the more the words are regarded merely as the vehicle of the music: in art-song the words are always brief, voicing a mood rather than telling any story, and they are used to support the music with little regard to their own logic--precisely as the representative element in a modern painting merely serves as the basis for an organisation of pure form or color. In the musical form called alap—an improvisation on the raga theme, this preponderance of the music is carried so far that only meaningless syllables are used. The voice itself is a musical instrument, and the song is more than the words of the song. This form is especially favored by the Indian virtuoso, who naturally feels a certain contempt for those whose first interest in the song is connected with the words....[5]

The singer is generally supported by the drone instrument tambura, that establishes a constant reference point by sounding the tonic note, usually also the fifth, and sometimes other tones of the rāga as well. The adjustment of small threads between the strings and the flat bridge allows the tambura to produce a strong overtone complex. This means that the singer must control his pitch intonation with formidable accuracy. The other two accompanying instruments are usually a sāraṅgī, a bowed stringed instrument producing a silvery tone because of the large number of sympathetic strings, and the tablā, a set of two small hand drums capable of being played with great virtuosity and of producing delicacy as well as power, speed as well as a wide range of tone color. The higher-pitched tablā is carefully tuned to the tonic drone. Semi-permanent tuning paste and a special arrangement of composite drum-heads enables it to produce a clear, ringing musical tone as one of its many possible sounds. Indian drummers can represent the sounds of their instruments in spoken syllables, and frequently recite them at prodigious speed.

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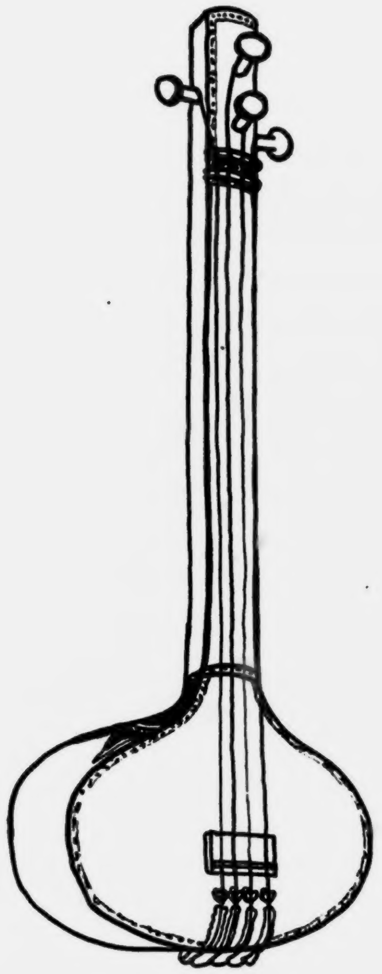
[5] Ananda Coomaraswamy, The Dance of Shiva, New York: Noonday Press, 1957, pp. 92, 93.

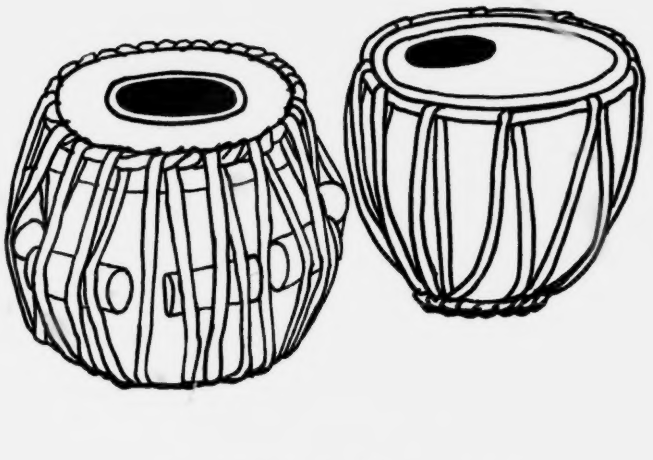
Recording: The Drums of India. Chatur Lal, tablā, accompanied by Ramnarayan, sarangi. World Pacific WP 1403.



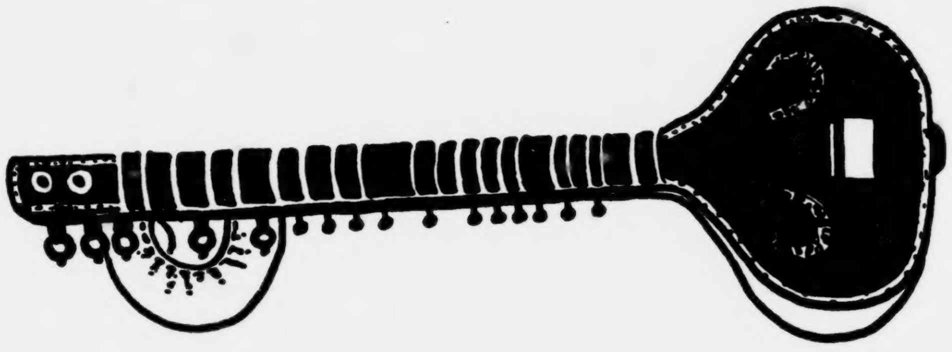
6. North Indian tambura

It would not be incorrect to say that the Indian singer may be replaced by an instrumental soloist, for all melodic music for instruments is firmly based in the vocal style and represents an extension of it in terms of range and specific tone color. Stringed instruments, especially plucked lutes, are favored, as well as wind instruments of the reed and flute families.

The principal melodic instruments of Hindustani music are the sitār, sarod, sāraṅgī, śanai and flute. Also used are various types of bīn (vīṇā), sūrbahār, esrāj, dilruba, guitar and violin.



7. North Indian tablā



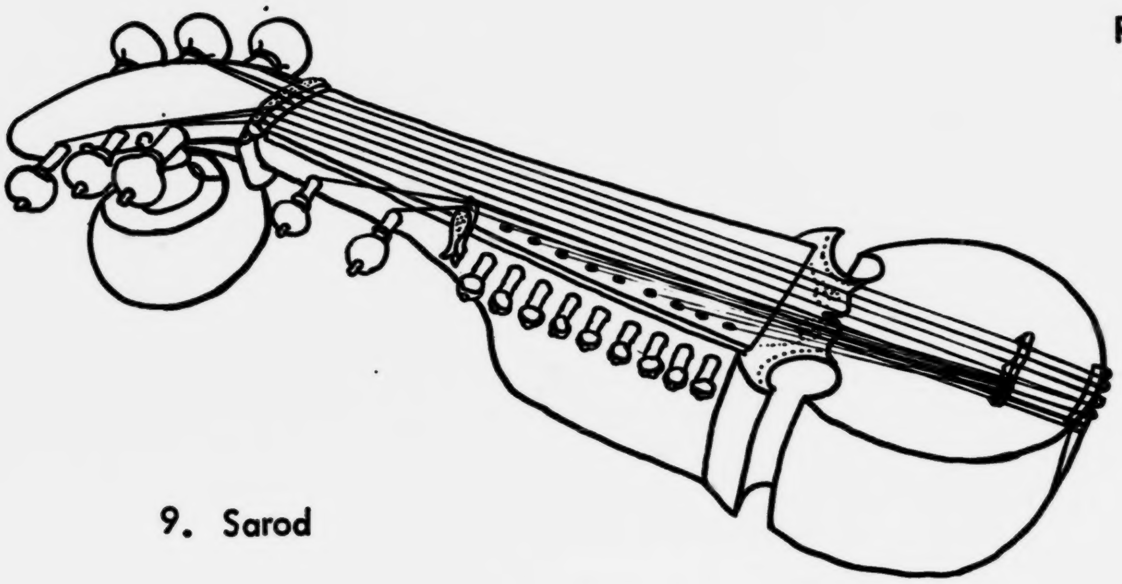
8. Sitār

Recordings:

a. Music of India, Ragas and Talas. Ravi Shankar, sitar; Alla Rakha, tabla. Ragas Madhu-kauns and Jogiya. Dhun and tabla solo. Odeon ALP 1665.
b. Music of India. Ustad Vilayat Khan, sitar; Ustad Imrat Khan, surbahar; Pandit Shanta Prasad, tabla. Ragas Miya ki Malhar, Miya ki Todi, Pilu (thumri); tabla solo. Odeon ALP 1946

The sitār is a long-necked lute with a gourd sound chamber. The wide, hollow neck supports moveable curved metal frets that are set for the main tones of the rāga. The sideways pulling of the strings to produce innumerable slides and ornaments is an important part of the instrumental technique. Sometimes the drone strings are plucked in powerful rhythmic patterns during the type of improvisation called jhāla. Sympathetic strings beneath the main playing strings give an added lustral aura to the melody.

The sarod is tuned differently from the sitār and has a different family tree. Its tone can be strong and masculine, and it is emphasized when the plectrum is struck against the skin cover of the sounding box. Unlike the sitār, there are no frets; the fingernail slides on the wide steel finger-board to stop the metal strings at the desired position.

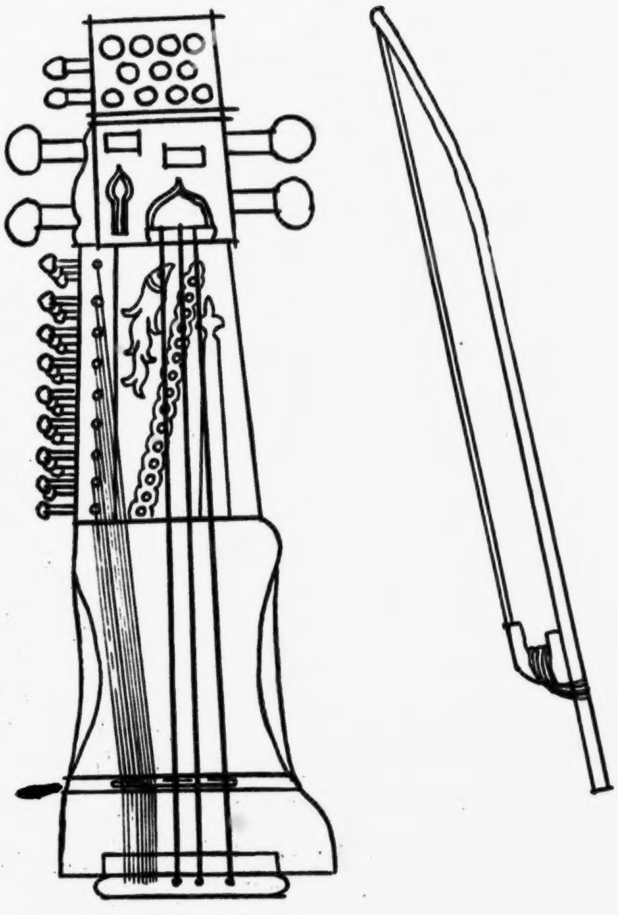


9. Sarod

Recordings:

a. Music of India, Morning and Evening Ragas. Ali Akbar Khan, sarod; Chatur Lal, tabla. Ragas Sindh Bhairavi and Pilu. Angel 35283.
b. The Music of India. Sharan Rani, sarod; Chatur Lal, tabla. Ragas Kausi Kanada and Lalit. Tabla solo. World Pacific WP 1418.

Because the sārangī has gut strings, it used to be played primarily by the companions of dancing girls and other members of the lower stratum of society. Usually there are three main playing strings, and a large number (perhaps 30 or 40) of sympathetic strings. Some of these emphasize the tonic and fifth, while some are retuned to vibrate with the main tones of the particular rāga being played, as with the sitār, sarod, and other stringed instruments. The thick gut strings of the sārangī are not pressed against the fingerboard but are stopped with the back of the fingernail.

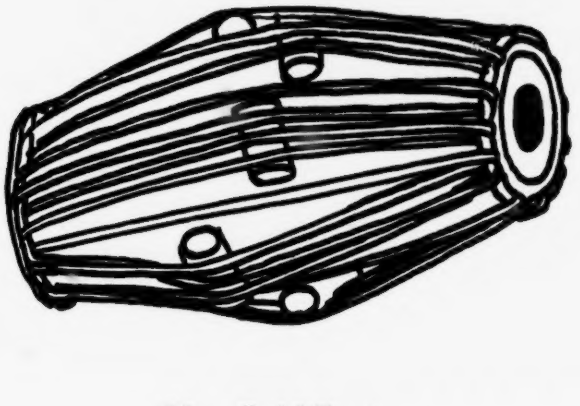


10. Sārangī

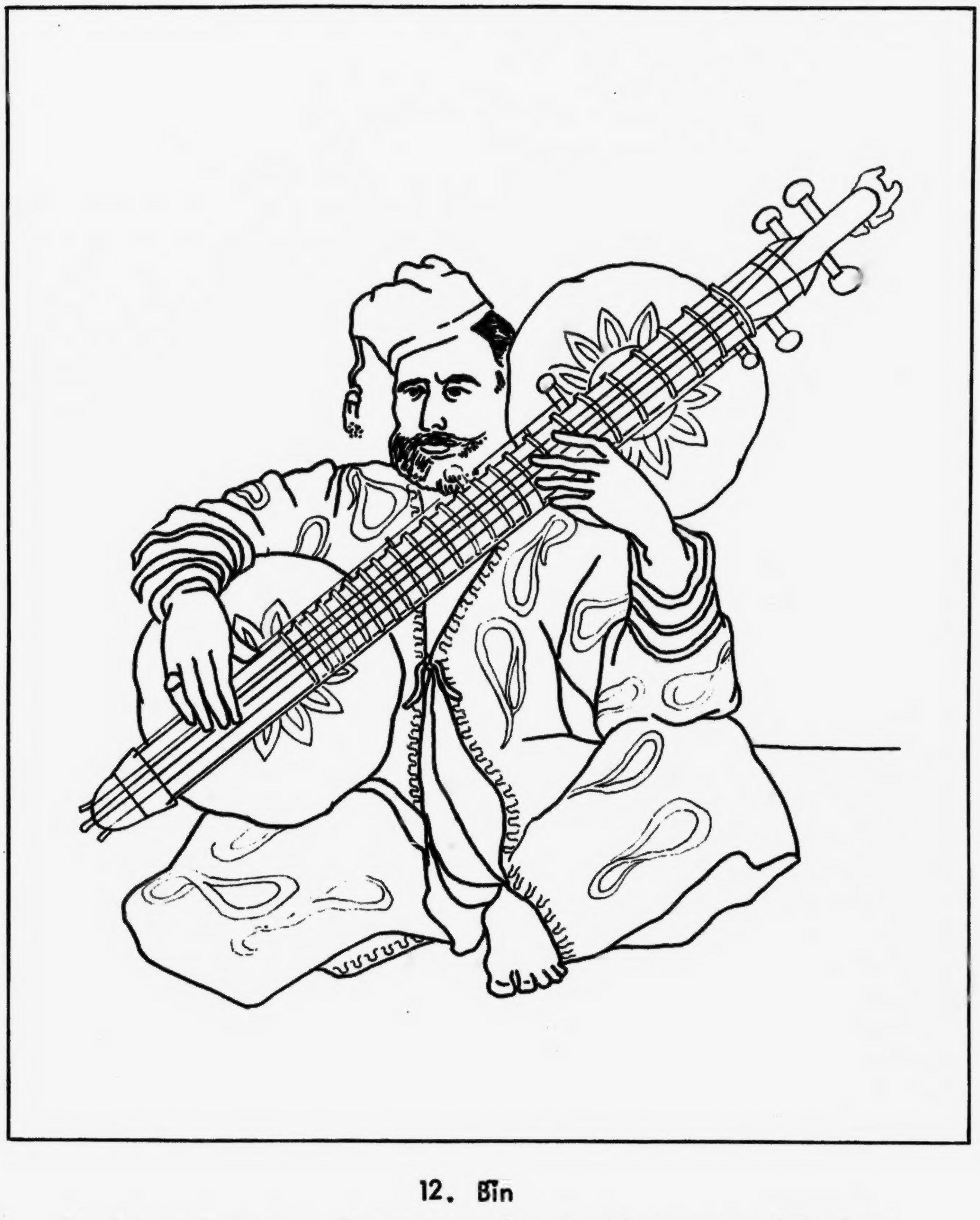
Recording:

> Inde du nord, rāgas du matin et du soir. Ram Narayan, sarangi; Chatur Lal, tabla. Ragas Shuddh Todi and Marva. Tabla solo. Boite a Musique LD 094.

The classical stringed instrument of North Indian music is the vīṇā, or bīn. It is a fretted stick zither made from a bamboo rod with two large gourd resonators, and is normally accompanied in concert by the classical barrel drum, pakhāvaj. The word vīṇā appears in the Vedas, and was apparently used as a generic term for stringed instruments. However, the prototype of the present vīṇā appears first in the 7th century Pallava sculptures at Mahābalipuram, near present-day Madras. Within a century or two, such instruments with fingerboards entirely replaced the harp family, and only the saung harp of Burma remains to remind us of the harp's importance in the music of ancient India. Unfortunately, there are few players of the bīn today, partly because its sound is small and unsuited to concert performances for large audiences (it is still the preferred instrument of holy men and yogis), partly because it is exceedingly difficult to play in tune.



11. Pakhāvaj



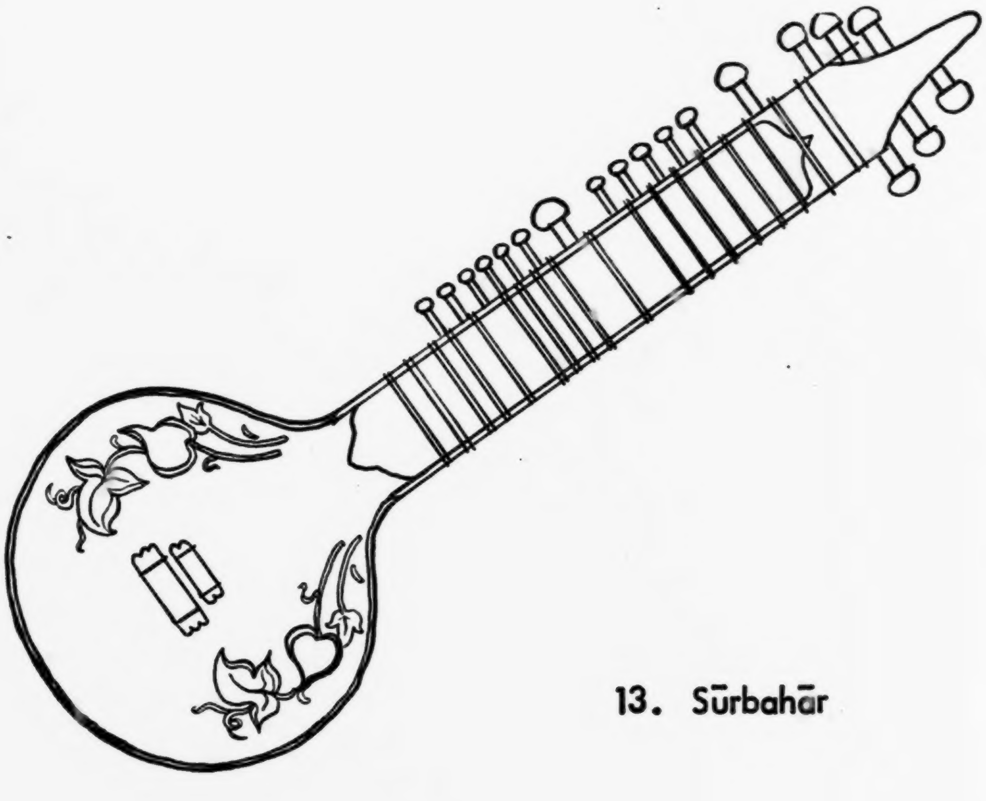
12. Bīn

(copy from C. R. Day, The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan, London: Novello, Ewer, and Co., 1891, Plate 1)

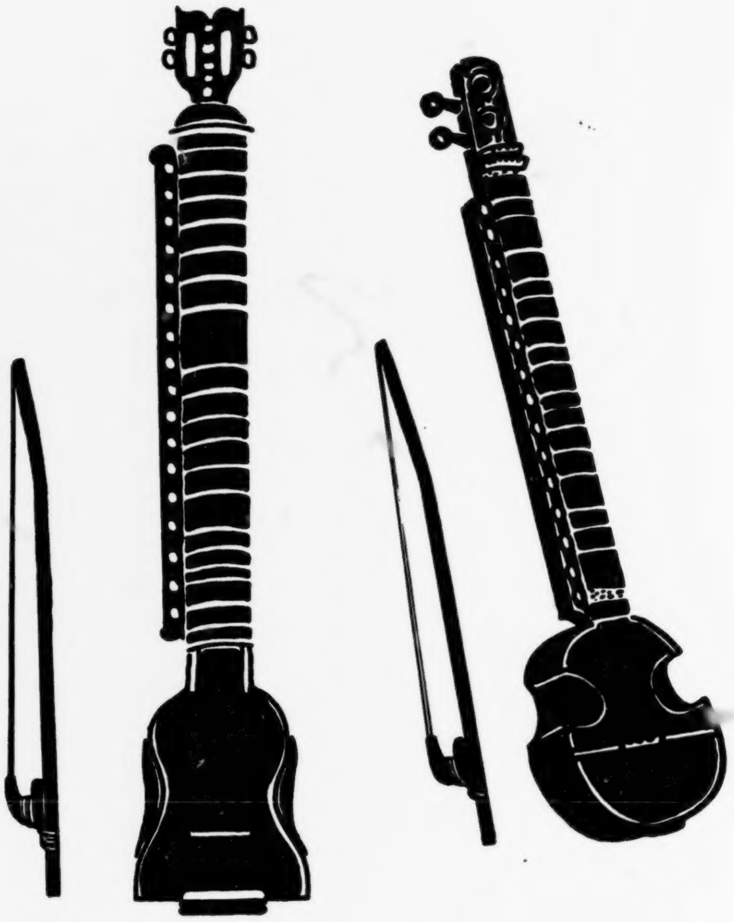
A modern version without frets, the vichitra bīn, is played by sliding an egg-shaped piece of glass along the strings in the manner of the Hawaiian guitar. The guitar itself, played in the same fashion, is gaining in popularity.

Less common stringed instruments include the sūrbahār, a kind of bass sitār with a very attractive sound, at its best in the slower ālāp section, the esrāj and dilruba, bowed instruments with fretboards similar to the sitār, and the western violin, played sometimes as a solo instrument, sometimes as a replacement for the sāraṅgī.

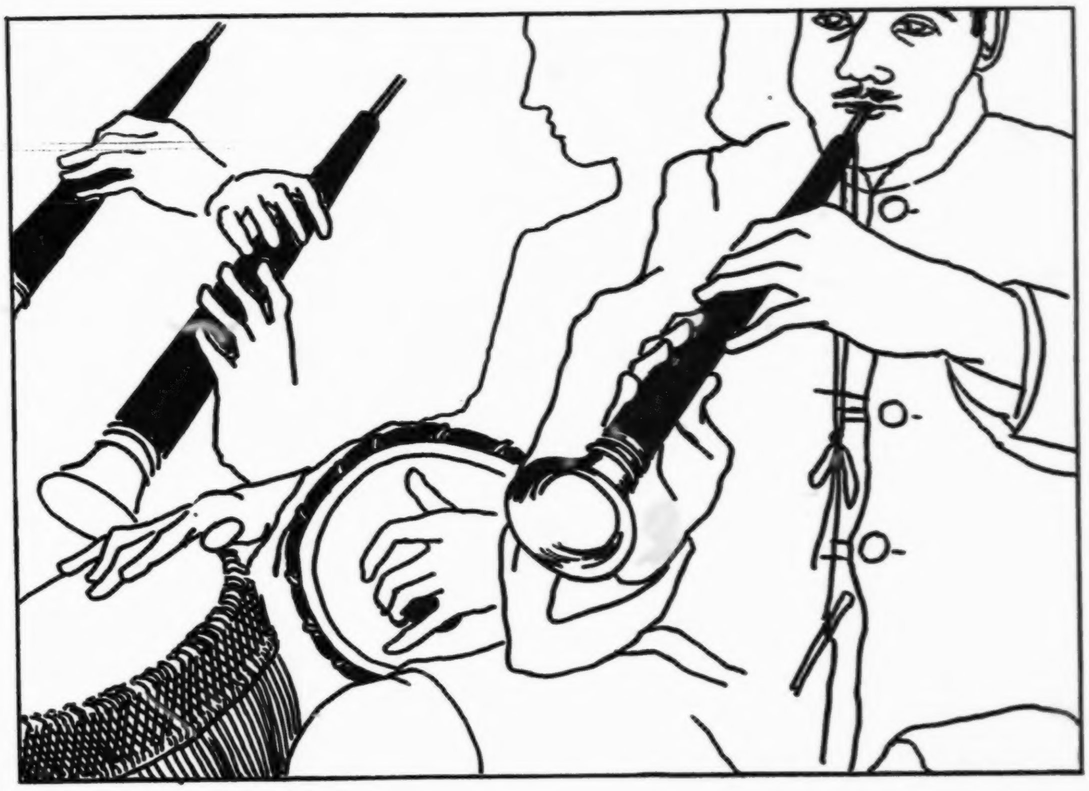
Although instruments of the horn and trumpet type appear in early sculpture, they have never been developed in India, and are only occasionally found as folk or temple instruments today. The main wind instruments have been the bamboo flute and double-reeds of the oboe type. In North India, the bamboo flute used in classical music is often of very large size, and has a deep and compelling tone quality. Although simple in appearance, it is played with virtuoso technique. It is an especially favored instrument in Bengal. The use of double reed instruments to provide the music for rites of passage is an ancient



13. Sūrbahār



14. Esrāj and Dilruba



15. Śahnai, Khurdak, and Ḍugga

practice found all over the Middle East, India, Southeast Asia, and even China. An indispensable member of all wedding parties in North India is the small oboe, śahnai, accompanied by the khurdak and ḍugga, two small drums resembling tablā but archaic in construction and technique, played by one musician. Generally a śahnai party includes at least one secondary melody instrument, and one or two drone players using an instrument like the śahnai but without playing holes. By using the cheeks as a reservoir, the players can breathe independently and emit a continuous stream of air to provide the constant drone required. Although the śahnai is played by many rustic performers, it has in recent years been elevated to the status of a concert instrument. In the hands of a master it is capable of great subtleties of tone, technique, and expression.

Recordings:
- a. Pannalal Ghosh, flute. Ragas Yaman and Shri. Odeon MOAE - 102.
- b. Bismillah Khan, Shehnai. Raga Todi and Mishra Thumri. Odeon MOAE - 113.

The instrumental forms of music resemble vocal forms for the most part, although an intermediate section between ālāp and composition, the jor, is especially developed instrumentally, particularly by the plucked stringed instruments. The jor has a regular rhythmic pulsation, as opposed to the free rhythm of the ālāp. However, there is no metrical organization of rhythm until the introduction of a composition in a particular tāla. Such an instrumental composition is called a gat. It corresponds to the khyāl in vocal music, and is also accompanied by the tablā.

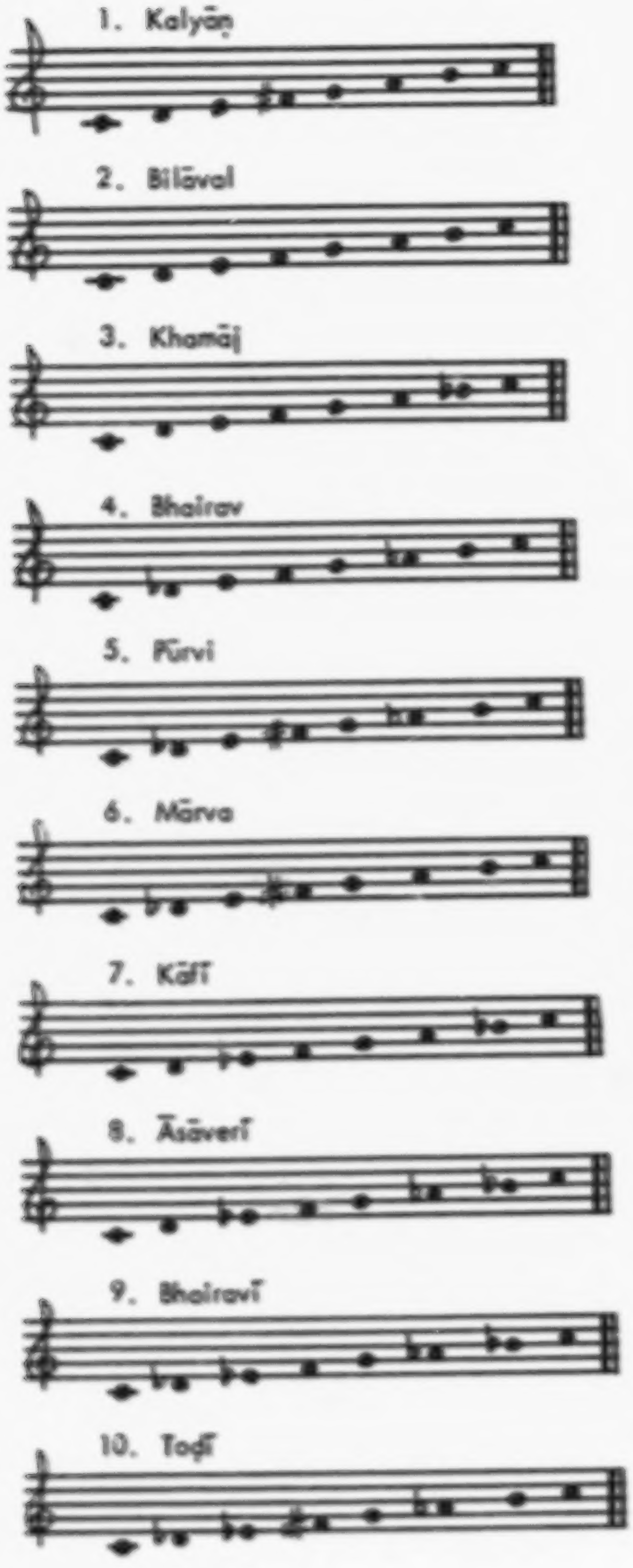
Improvisation on a composition must follow the exigencies of both the rāga and the tāla. The usual pattern is to begin melodic variations on a portion of the composed melody, which often occupies just one cycle of the tāla. The improvisation gets longer and more and more elaborate until the point where it may occupy several cycles of the tāla. The performer will always return eventually to the composition, or at least a portion of it. Both gat and khyāl usually have a 'lead-in' melody that begins several beats before the first beat of the tāla and leads up to it as the most important point in the rhythmic structure. The drummer too will improvise, calling on the hundreds of small set patterns he has learned through long training, rearranging them, modifying them with variation technique, inserting longer and more complex patterns at main divisions in the musical architecture. There is an exchange of improvisation. While the soloist is developing melodic and rhythmic complexities the drummer will keep a relatively simple pattern that outlines the aṅgas of the tāla by contrast of timbre produced with different strokes of the hands and fingers. There is, in fact, a particular orthodox stroke pattern to show the structure of each tāla, called ṭheka. Sometimes the soloist will repeat the composition in its simple original form, at which time the drummer may introduce rhythmically complex improvisation. When both improvise simultaneously in cross-rhythms, the audience listens attentively to see that they both arrive at the end of their patterns on the sam, or first beat of the tāla cycle. When they do, the response is often vocal, for the audience is deeply involved.

The improvisational element that looms so large in Indian classical music gives it a freshness and spontaneity in performance that reflects the mood of the moment. At the same time, the performer works within a tradition of utmost complexity, sophistication, and refinement. He must spend years of training and study in close contact with his guru, or teacher, before he is free to express himself fully within the framework of the rāga and tāla systems. Each rāga is ever open to development. A musician projects himself toward the realization of the musical beauty within a given rāga. Other musicians around him do the same. Others before have done it; those who come after will continue. But no one realizes completely at any one time the infinite possibilities inherent in the rāgas, and the success of a particular performance is measured in relative terms. Coomaraswamy again expresses cogently the psychological climate of artistic expression.

> . . . The master musicians of India are always represented as the pupils of a god, or as visiting the heaven-world to learn there the music of the spheres--that is to say, their knowledge springs from a source far within the surface of the empirical activity of the waking consciousness. In this connection it is explained why it is that human art must be studied, and may not be identified with the imitation of our everyday behavior. When Shiva expounds the technique of the drama to Bharata--that famous author of the Natya Shastra--he declares that human art must be subject to law, because in man the inner and outer life are still in conflict. Man has not yet found Himself, but all his activity

> proceeds from a laborious working of the mind, and all his virtue is self-conscious. What we call our life is uncoordinated, and far from the harmony of art, which rises above good and evil. It is otherwise with the gods, whose every gesture immediately reflects the affections of the inner life. Art is an imitation of that perfect spontaneity--the identity of intuition and expression in those who are of the kingdom of heaven, which is within us. Thus it is that art is nearer to life than any fact can be; and Mr. Yeats has reason when he says that Indian music, though its theory is elaborate and its technique so difficult, is not an art, but life itself.[6]

16. Ten Thāṭs of North Indian Rāga Classification (after Bhatkande)



How have the North Indians attempted to classify their many rāgas? By means both poetic and practical. The Saṅgītadarpaṇa of Damodara (c. 1625) expounds a system of six male rāgas, originally pentatonic--Bhairav, Mālkoś, Hindol, Dīpak, Śrī, and Megh--each having a number of wives (rāgiṇīs) and sons (putras). This emphasizes the musical fact of strong main rāgas, showing archaic pentatonic bone structure, with related modes, often more delicate or having specialized character. A more recent classification groups them according to ten basic fret settings (thāṭs) on the sitār. These are not the rāgas themselves, since rāgas might omit tones in ascent or descent, use microtonal inflection or occasional alternate pitches, etc. Nevertheless, the scales of the thāṭs can illustrate some basic tone material of the present North Indian rāga system.

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6. *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95.

A listing of twenty-five of the most common rāgas (see Fig. 17) will further serve to show the sequential arrangement of the tones. This sequential arrangement is a strong enough factor in the musical phrase to make it impossible to notate most rāgas as a simple scale from lowest to highest. Sometimes tones can be used only in ascending (or descending)phrases. Sometimes there are alternate tones for certain scale degrees (for instance, both D♭ and D♮), depending on context. And ornaments always add microtonal inflections that are not shown in the notation. The best way to become acquainted with the rāgas, of course, is through performance or recordings.

Several of the most common North Indian tālas are listed below (see Fig. 18). The aṅgas are classified either as tāli ('beat,' expressed with a handclap), or khālī ('empty,' expressed with a wave). This structure is often reflected in the music by the omission of the lower-pitched left hand drum, or by a peculiar twist or small climax in the musical phrase on the khālī aṅga.

The Hindustani music of the North can be sensuous and more romantic in mood than the South Indian or Carnatic (Karṇātaka) music. There is more dwelling on long held tones, less busy activity. Unlike the Southern music, it tends to increase in speed by definite stages in both the jor and jhāla sections, as well as in the improvisation on the khyāl or gat. In fact, after a certain speed has been reached, it is customary to introduce a new composition appropriate for faster tempo--often in a different tāla. Although principals are the same, and identical names sometimes appear, none of the specific tālas and rāgas of North and South India are alike, except for a handful of direct borrowings.

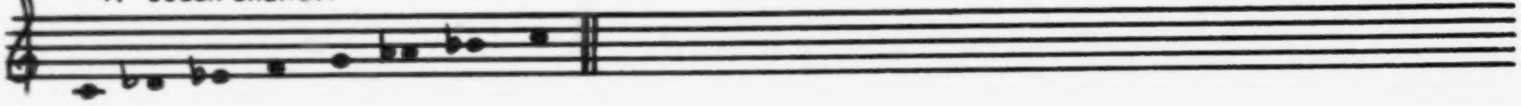
V. South Indian Classical Music

South Indian music underwent systematization and change in the 16th and 17th centuries. The important 16th century composer, Purandara Dasa, who renounced his life as a successful businessman to become a saintly poet-musician, is often referred to as the 'Grandfather of Carnatic Music,' and his country Karṇātaka (the present Mysore State) gave the style its name.

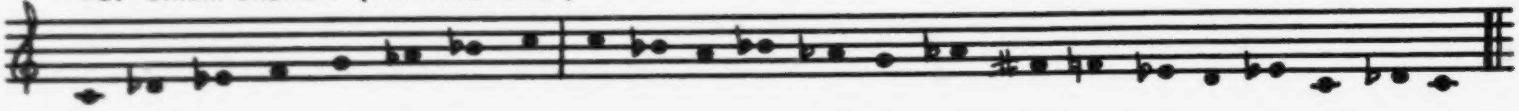
When the cultural center shifted from Vijayanagara, the last of the great Hindu empires, to Tanjore, the music developed an elaborate melodic ornamentation and flowered rhythmically to encompass a wonderfully expressive and varied use of musical time under a control that is perhaps unequalled in any other musical culture. Great bhaktas poured out their religious emotion in kṛtis and other musical forms of impressive architectural scope. Three of the most famous composers, Tyāgarāja, Muttusvāmi Dīkṣitar, and Syāma Śāstri, flourished at the same time and were all born in the same little village of Tiruvarur, in Tanjore district.

17. Twenty-five North Indian Rāgas

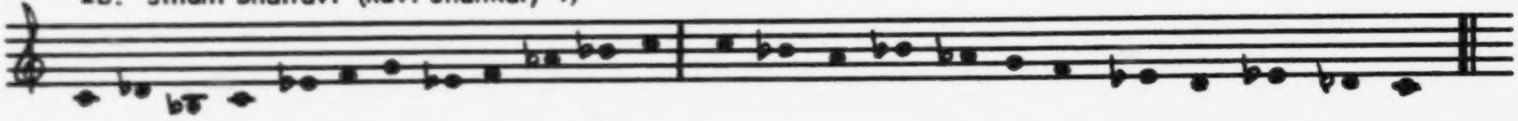
1. Śuddh Bhairavī



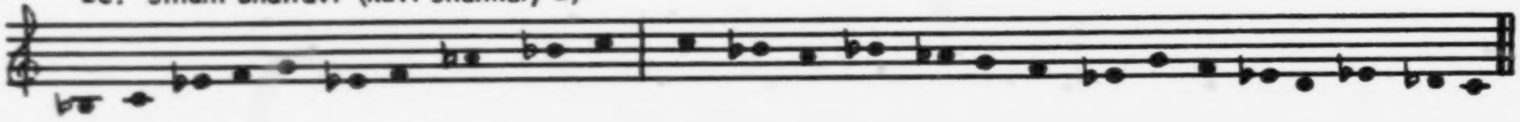
2a. Sindhī Bhairavī (Ali Akbar Khan)



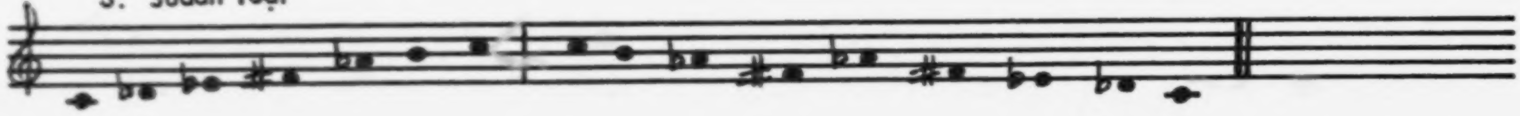
2b. Sindhī Bhairavī (Ravi Shankar, 1)



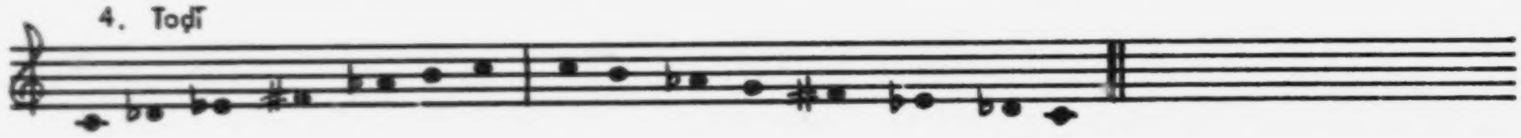
2c. Sindhī Bhairavī (Ravi Shankar, 2)



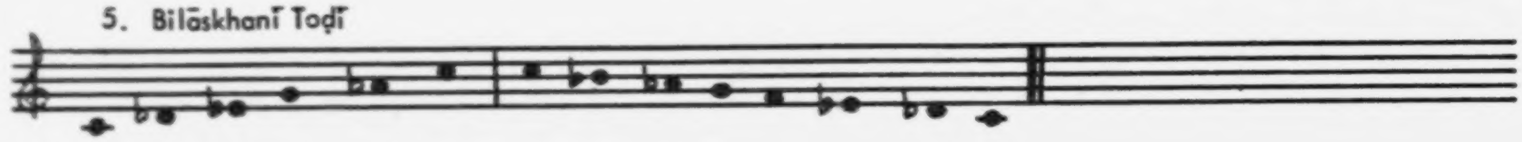
3. Śuddh Toḍī



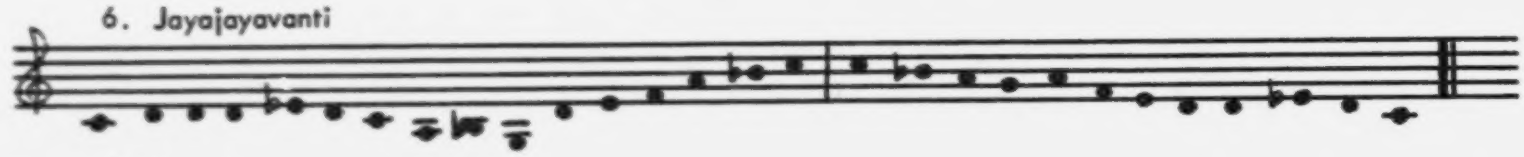
4. Toḍī



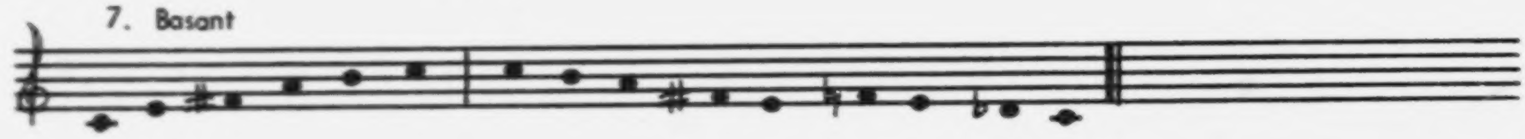
5. Bilāskhanī Toḍī



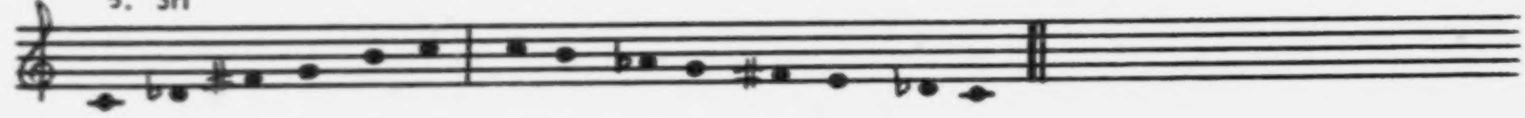
6. Jayajayavanti



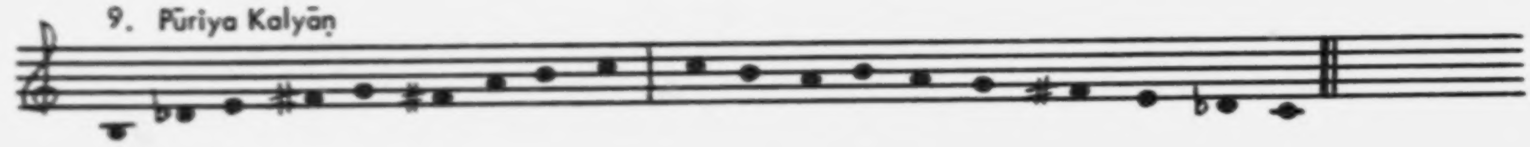
7. Basant



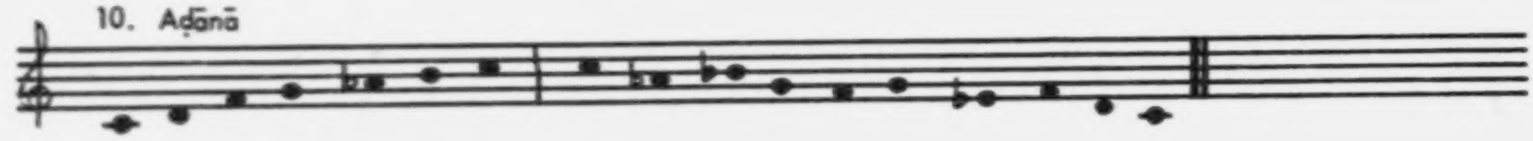
8. Śrī



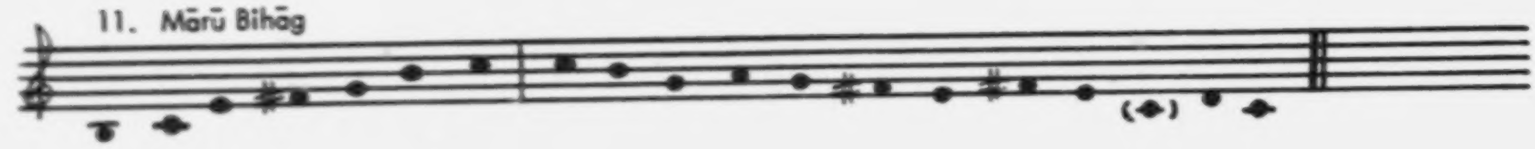
9. Pūriya Kalyāṇ



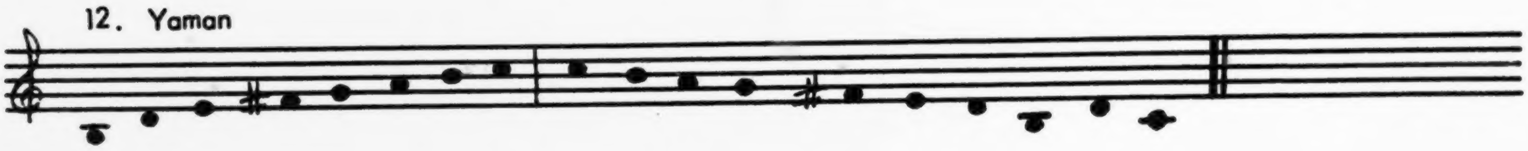
10. Aḍānā



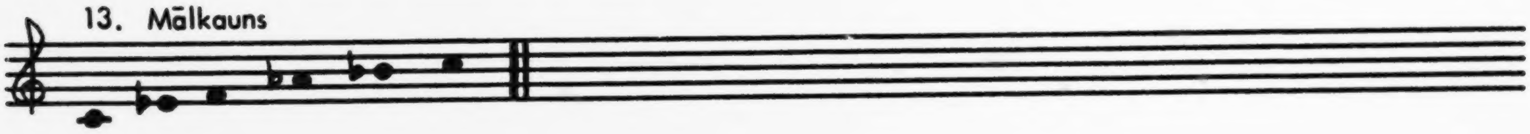
11. Mārū Bihāg



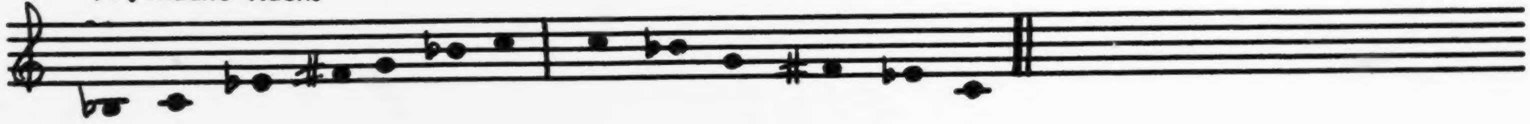
12. Yaman



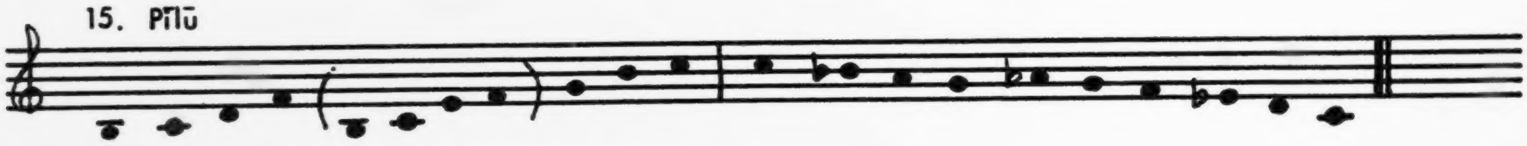
13. Mālkauns



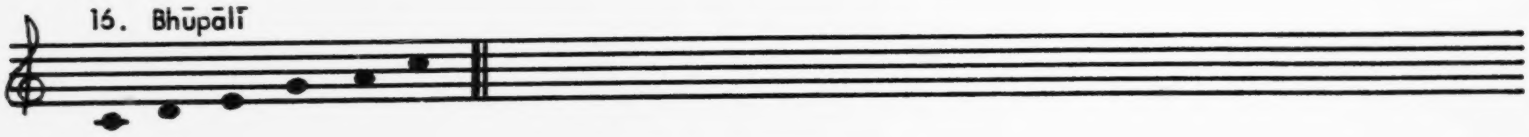
14. Madhu-Kauns



15. Pīlū



16. Bhūpālī



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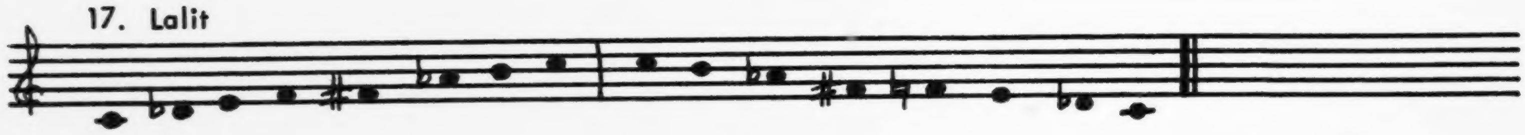

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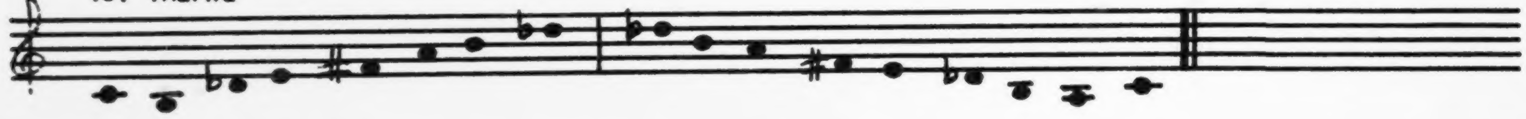
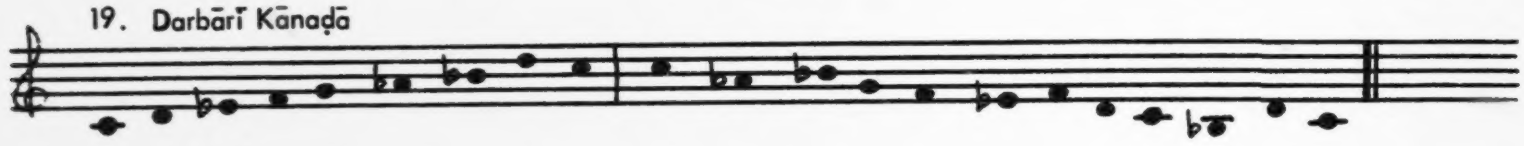
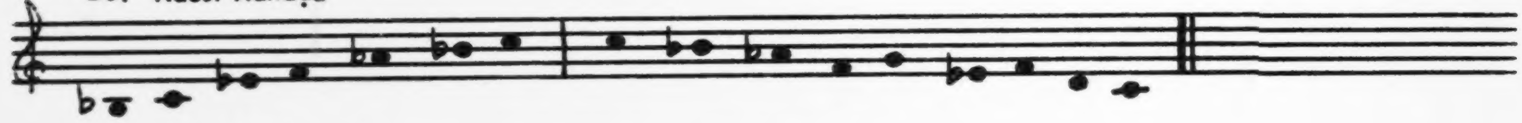


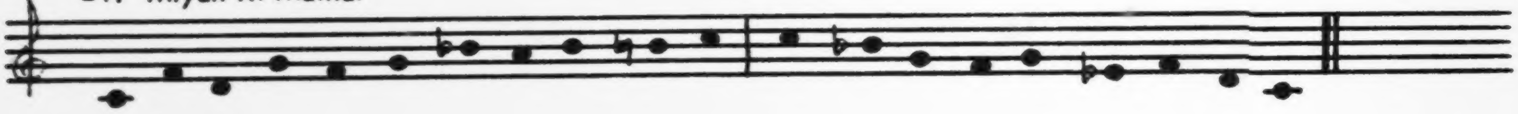
19. Darbārī Kānaḍā



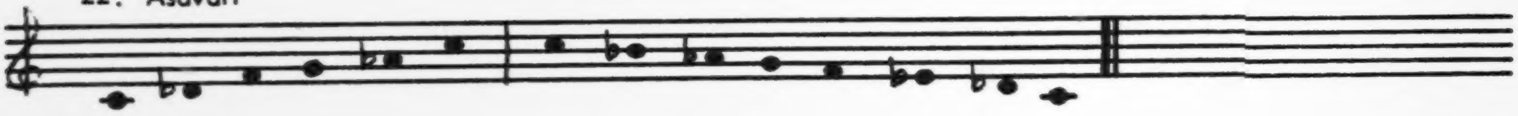
20. Kauśī Kānaḍā



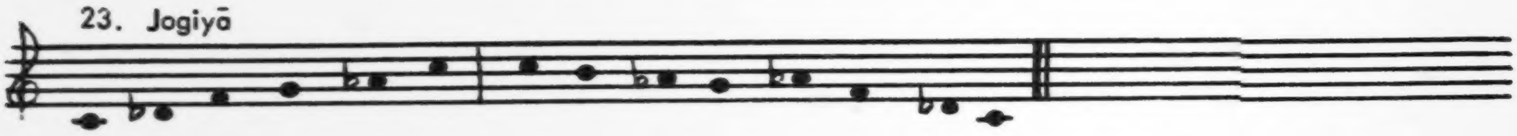
21. Miyān Ki Malhār



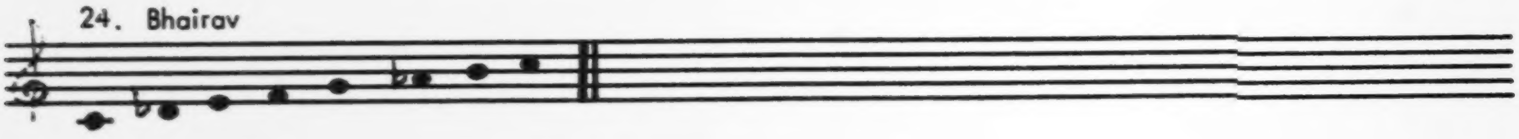
22. Āsāvari



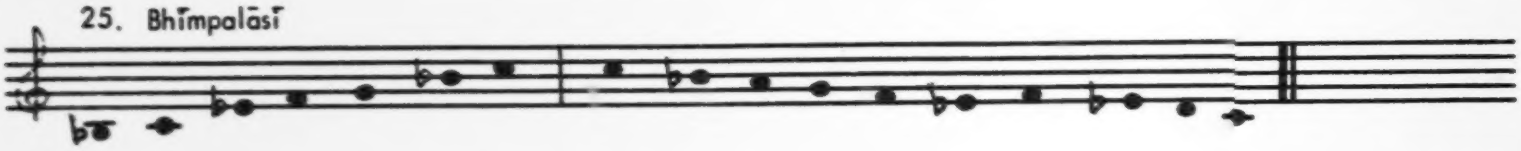
23. Jogiyā



24. Bhairav



25. Bhīmpalāsī



18. Some Typical Ṭhekas for North Indian Tālas

1. **TĪNTĀL:** 16 beats, 4-4-4-4, clap-clap-wave-clap

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
dha	dhin	dhin	dha	dha	dhin	dhin	dha	dha	tin	tin	ta	ta	dhin	dhin	dha
X				2				O				3			

2. **SITĀR KHĀNĪ:** 16 beats, 4-4-4-4, clap-clap-wave-clap

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
dha	gadhin	-ga	dha	dha	gadhin	-ga	ta	ta	gatin	-ga	ta	dha	gadhin	-ga	dha
X				2				O				3			

3. **RUPAK TĀL:** 7 beats, 3-2-2, wave-clap-clap

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
tin	tin	na	dhin	na	dhin	na
⊗			2		3	

4. **JHĀPTĀL:** 10 beats, 2-3-2-3, clap-clap-wave-clap

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
dhin	na	dhin	dhin	na	tin	na	dhin	dhin	na
X		2			O		3		

5. **EKTĀL:** 12 beats, 2-2-2-2-2-2, clap-wave-clap-wave-clap-clap

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
dhin	dhin	dhage	ṭirakiṭa	tu	na	ka	ta	dhage	ṭirakiṭa	dhin	na
X		O		2		O		3		4	

6. **CAUTĀL:** 12 beats, 2-2-2-2-2-2, clap-wave-clap-wave-clap-clap

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
dha	dha	din	ta	kita	dha	din	ta	tita	kata	gadi	gang
X		O		2		O		3		4	

7. **DĀDRA TĀL:** 6 beats, 3-3, clap-wave

1	2	3	4	5	6
dha	dhin	na	dha	tun	na
X			O		

8. **KAHĀRWA TĀL:** 8 beats, 4-4, clap-clap

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
dha	ge	na	tin	na	ka	dhin	na
X				2			

9. **DĪPCANDI TĀL:** 14 beats, 3-4-3-4, clap-clap-wave-clap

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
dha	dhin	-	dha	ge	tin	-	ta	tin	-	dha	ge	dhin	-
X			2				O			3			

10. **DHAMĀR TĀL:** 14 beats, 5-2-3-4, clap-clap-wave-wave

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
ka	dhi	ṭa	dhi	ṭa	dha	-	ga	ti	ṭa	ti	ṭa	ta	-
X					2		O			3			

Taken from the Banaras style of tablajī Panchu Maharaj

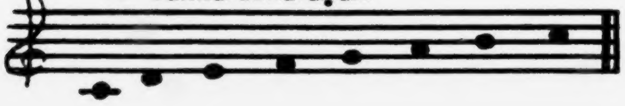
When their golden era passed in the mid-19th century, the cultural center shifted to Madras city, and their tradition was continued by other composers--lesser lights, perhaps, but creators of important artistic works that are still performed along with those of the 'musical trinity' whose compositions form the main fare of contemporary concert programs. This emergence of the saint-composer as a powerful artistic personality is only one facet of the Carnatic musical scene that distinguishes it from the Hindustani and other important style areas, where fewer composers are remembered and the compositions are usually on a smaller scale.

The present classification of Carnatic rāgas is based on a system of seventy-two melakartas, or seven-tone parent scales, first expounded in 1620 by the theorist Venkatamakhin in an important work, the Caturdaṇdi Prakāsika. In the melakarta scheme, tonic and fifth (sa and pa) are always present. Half of the scales use the perfect fourth (suddha madhyama), the last thirty-six use the augmented fourth (prati madhayama). The basic tones used are the twelve of the piano keyboard (or vīṇā fretboard). By mathematical alternation of three possible ris, three gas, three dhas, and three nis (some tones being enharmonic with others), a complete and rationally logical series is completed. As a further systematization, the rāga names were altered--Śankharābhāraṇam became Dhiraśankarābhāraṇam, Kalyāṇi became Mecakalyāṇi, etc.--so that the first two syllables would indicate the numerical position of the mela (source scale) in the scheme of seventy-two. To determine the rank of a mela, one must number the consonantal syllables of the Sanskrit alphabet from 1 through 9, plus 0, and repeat to the end. The numbers of the first two mela syllables are reversed to find the correct position. (Dhira is 9-2, reversed 2-9, thus Dhiraśankarābhāraṇam is number twenty-nine in the scheme of seventy-two.)

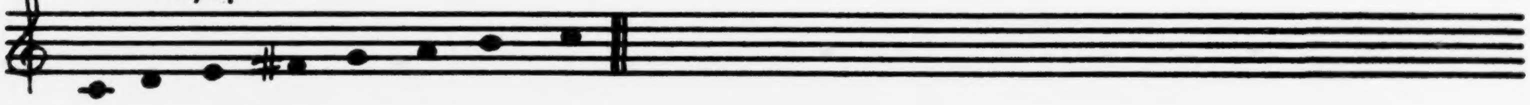
From the practical point of view, the melakarta system does not project faithfully the contemporary musical situation. There are many more rāgas having gapped scales, differing ascent and descent, vakra ('crooked') configuration rather than a simple lowest to highest tone series, or vice versa than there are sampūrna (straight seven-tone) modes. Then too, certain strongly characteristic svaras (called jīva svaras or 'soul tones') give life to the rāga, either by their special ornamentation or melodic stress. Other tones in a given rāga may be generally avoided, creating a melodic poignancy when they do appear. Perhaps the most important single musical hallmark of the rāga, its traditional grouping of the basic note material into characteristic small melodic phrases, is hardly touched upon in the native theory. It is extremely important, however, to remember that the point of view of an Indian theorist is quite different from that of the European, who attempts to describe as faithfully and scientifically as possible a musical situation that has already taken place. In the seventy-two melakarta system, we find a great many rāgas grouped under a relatively small number of parent scales. (Śankarābhāraṇam, for instance, may have fifteen or twenty children.) Yet, many interesting possibilities for new and still unused seven tone scales emerge. Musicians can now turn to the system for inspiration in creating new rāgas, and in this way a number of new configurations,

19. Twenty-five South Indian Rāga Scales

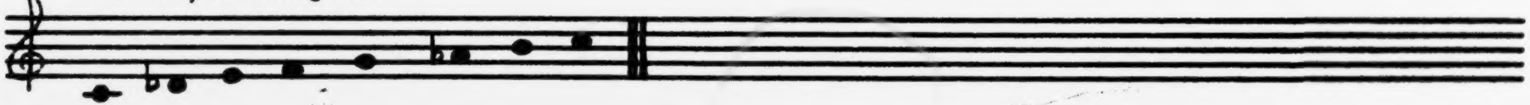
1. Śankarābharaṇam



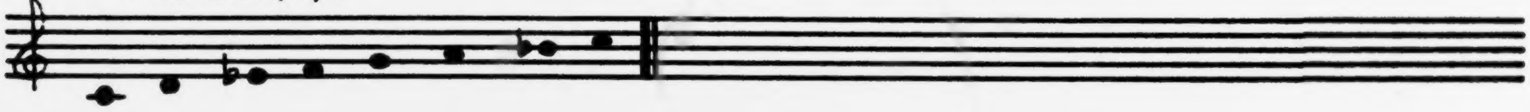
2. Kalyāṇī



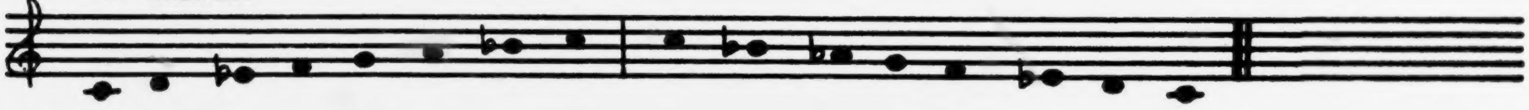
3. Māyamālavagaula



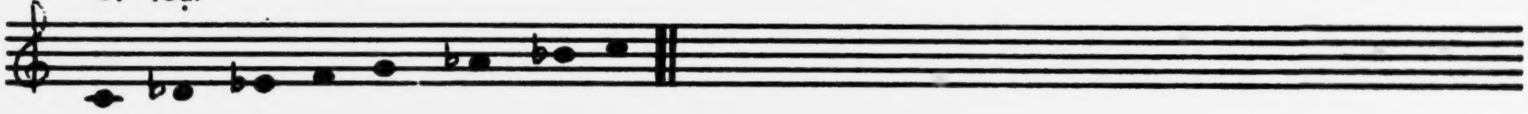
4. Kharaharapriya



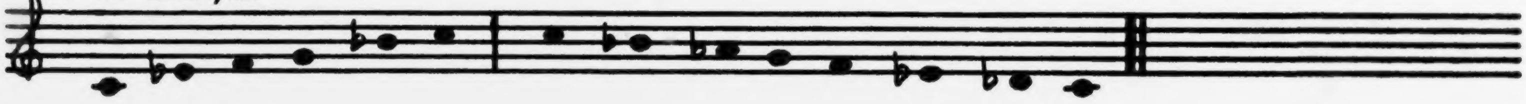
5. Bhairavi



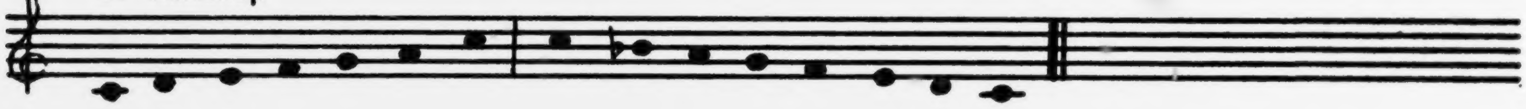
6. Toḍi



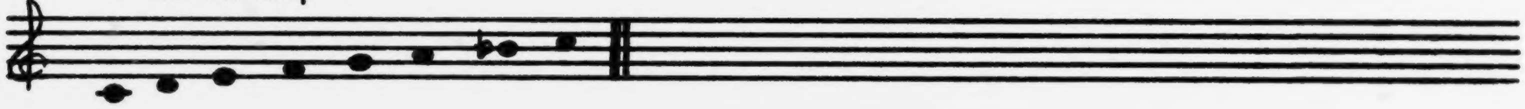
7. Dhanyāsi



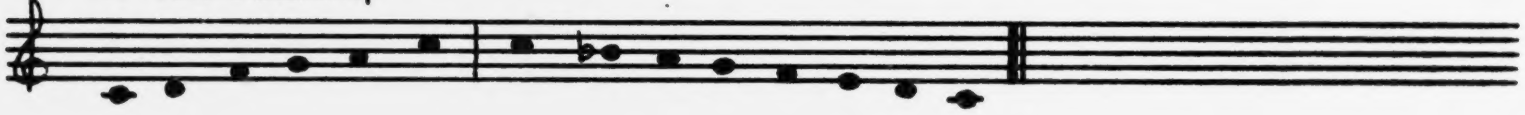
8. Kāmbhoji



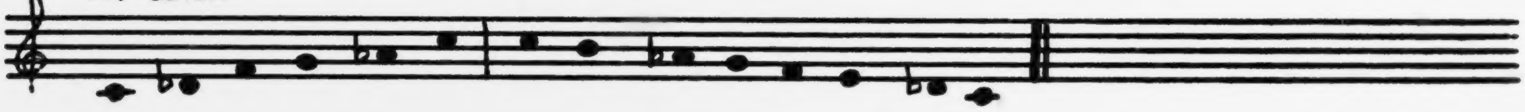
9. Harikāmbhoji



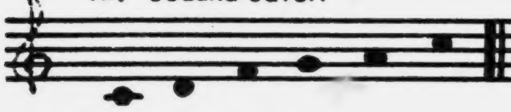
10. Yadukulakāmbhoji



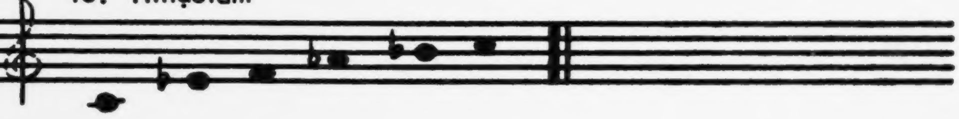
11. Sāveri



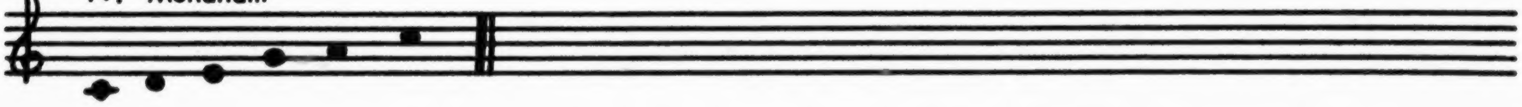
12. Suddha Sāveri



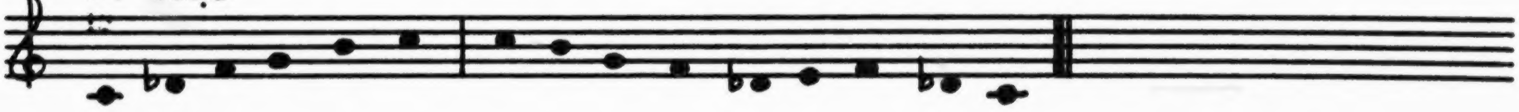
13. Hinḍolam



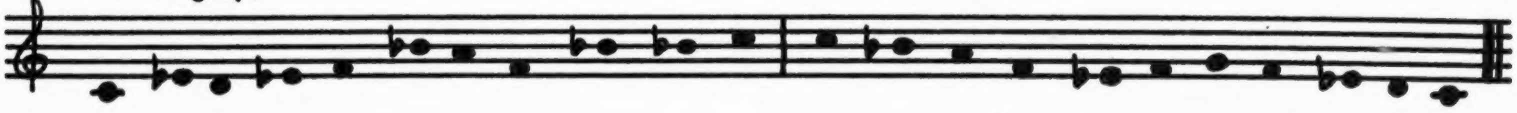
14. Mohanam



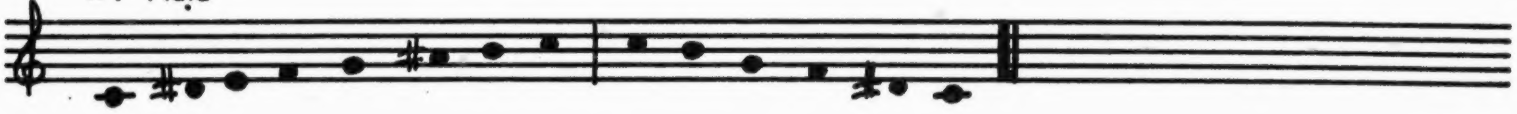
15. Gauḷa



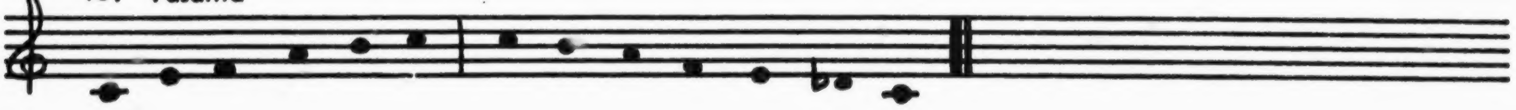
16. Rītigauḷa



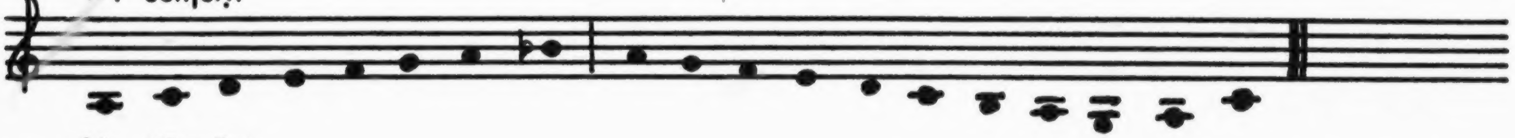
17. Nāṭa



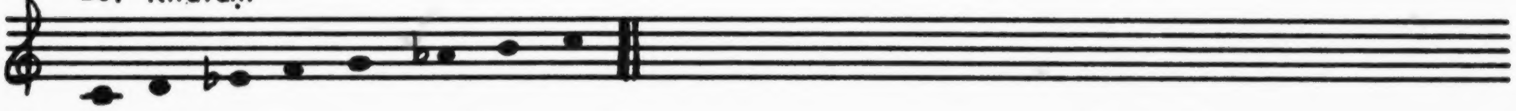
18. Vasanta



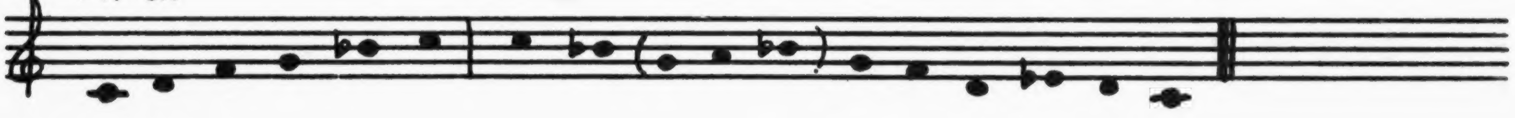
19. Senjurṭi



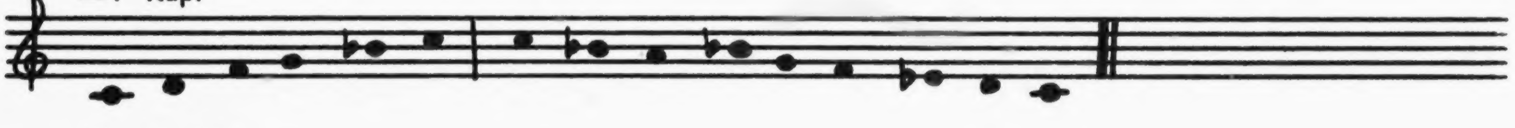
20. Kīravāṇi



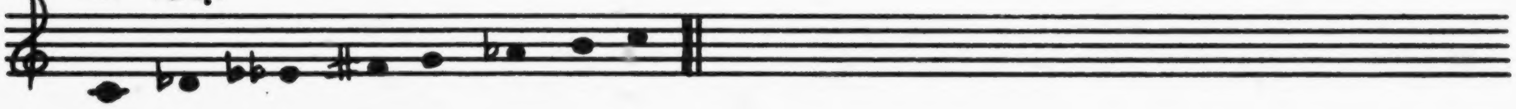
21. Śri



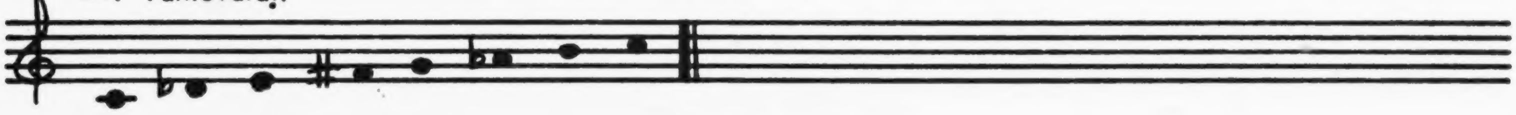
22. Kāpi



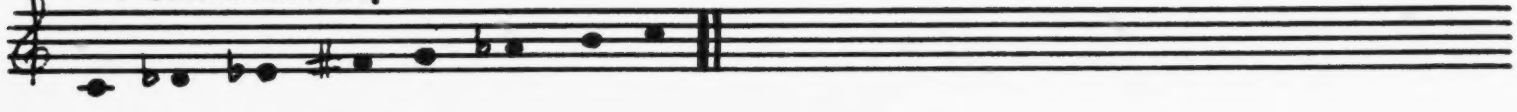
23. Varāḷi



24. Pantuvarāḷi



25. Subbha Pantuvarāḷi



such as Kanakaṅgi (C, D^{b}, E^{bb}, F, G, A^{b}, B^{bb}, C), which assumes special importance as the first scale of the seventy-two, have come to be used by performers.

The present tāla system of Carnatic music, based on seven basic types (sapta tālas), is equally systematic. The seven tāla types are formed from only three aṅgas: anudrutam, one akṣarakāla ('beat'); drutam, two akṣarakālas; and laghu, a variable aṅga of which there are five types (jātis): catuśra (4 akṣarakālas), tiśra (3), miśra (7), khaṇḍa (5), and saṅkīrṇa (9). Since each of the seven main tāla patterns contains at least one laghu, five times seven, or thirty-five tālas comprise the whole scheme. Of these, perhaps half a dozen are in common use, another half dozen are used infrequently, and the remainder make up a reservoir that is now being drawn upon in the same way that the theoretical melas of the rāga classification system furnish new basic musical materials for the composer and creative artist-performer.

20. The Thirty-five Tālas

	Laghu Bheda				
	Caturaśra 4	Tiśra 3	Miśra 7	Khaṇḍa 5	Sankīrṇa 9
1. Dhruva	$I^{4}\,O\,I^{4}\,I^{4}$	$I^{3}\,O\,I^{3}\,I^{3}$	$I^{7}\,O\,I^{7}\,I^{7}$	$I^{5}\,O\,I^{5}\,I^{5}$	$I^{9}\,O\,I^{9}\,I^{9}$
2. Maṭya	$I^{4}\,O\,I^{4}$	$I^{3}\,O\,I^{3}$	$I^{7}\,O\,I^{7}$	$I^{5}\,O\,I^{5}$	$I^{9}\,O\,I^{9}$
3. Rūpaka	$O\,I^{4}$	$O\,I^{3}$	$O\,I^{7}$	$O\,I^{5}$	$O\,I^{9}$
4. Tripuṭa	$I^{4}\,OO$	$I^{3}\,OO$	$I^{7}\,OO$	$I^{5}\,OO$	$I^{9}\,OO$
5. Jhampa	$I^{4}\,XO$	$I^{3}\,XO$	$I^{7}\,XO$	$I^{5}\,XO$	$I^{9}\,XO$
6. Aṭa	$I^{4}\,I^{4}\,OO$	$I^{3}\,I^{3}\,OO$	$I^{7}\,I^{7}\,OO$	$I^{5}\,I^{5}\,OO$	$I^{9}\,I^{9}\,OO$
7. Eka	I^{4}	I^{3}	I^{7}	I^{5}	I^{9}

X (aṇudruta) is one akṣara in length, shown by a handclap

O (druta) is two akṣaras in length, shown by a clap and a wave

I (laghu) is a variable aṅga, 3, 4, 5, 7 or 9 akṣaras in length, indicated by a handclap followed by the appropriate number of finger counts, starting with the little finger

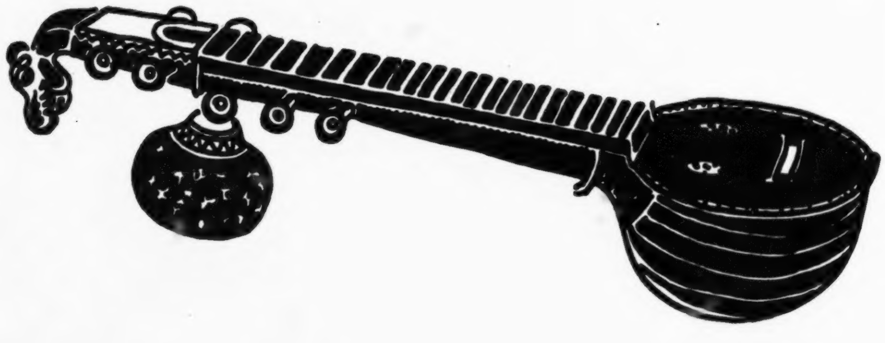
Other tāla systems used in South India are the cāpu tālas, mainly two simple patterns of five beats (2 +3) and seven beats (3+4), the Tirrupugal tālas--intricate metrical patterns determined by the verse structure of a number of hymns (Tirrupugal) by a single 15th century composer, Arunagīrinādar, two four-beat patterns (actually different combinations of three beats and a wave) showing North Indian or folk influence--the Deśādi and Madhyādi tālas, and occasional use of Deśī tālas of the Saṅgītaratnākara period as a tour de force in a special composition like a Pallavi, an elaborate improvisation built on a short but intricate melody with text.

Fewer musical instruments are used in Carnatic classical music than in the Hindustani tradition. The instrumental style is even closer to the vocal, and there is no such independent instrumental composition as the North Indian gat. Players of the vīṇā, nāgasvāram, flute or violin perform the song literature, and improvise upon it according to the nature of their instruments, but close to vocal style.

The vīṇā in South India has become a long-necked lute with a large resonating bowl, held across the lap by the seated player. A small gourd-shaped resonator, now generally made from papier-maché and useful only as a counter-balance, hangs from the neck. There are four playing strings, and three drone strings on a special side bridge. The plucking of the drone strings usually outlines the aṅga structure of the tāla cycle, so with melody, drone, and the rhythmic skeleton represented, the vīṇā becomes the most nearly self-sufficient of Indian instruments.

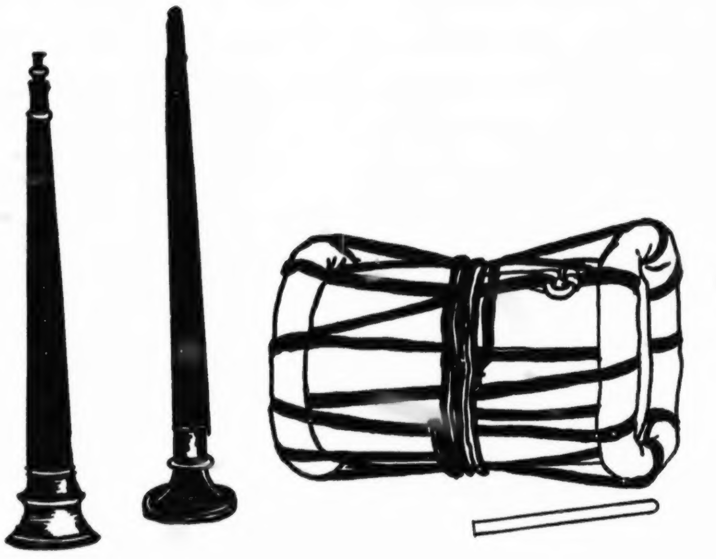
Recording:

Classical Indian Music. K. S. Narayanaswami, vina; Narayana Menon, vina; Palghat Raghu, mridangam. Spoken introduction by Yehudi Menuhin. London CM 9282.



21. South Indian Vīṇā

Within the past few decades in South India there has been a tendency to prefer a lower pitch for both vocal and instrumental music than prevailed in the past. All instruments, therefore, have tended to become larger, and the nāgasvāram, a powerful reed pipe of the oboe family, is not only more than twice as long as its relative, the now rare mukhavīṇā (resembling the North Indian śahnai), but it is capable of great power of tone. With its reed pipe drone, the ottu, accompanying tāḷam (small time-keeping bell metal cymbals) and the dynamic tavil drum, played with a short stick in the left hand and hard cloth and paste 'thimbles' on the fingers of the right hand, the nāgasvāram can produce an ear-splitting sound in a small room. This is a benefit, however, because the sound is highly auspicious and indispensable for weddings, temple ceremonies, and other rites, often held out of doors or in large halls. In concert there are generally two nāgasvāram players and two tavils who alternate and exchange improvisation.



22. Nāgasvāram and Tavil

Recording: Karukurichi Arunachalam, nagasvaram. Odeon (to be released)

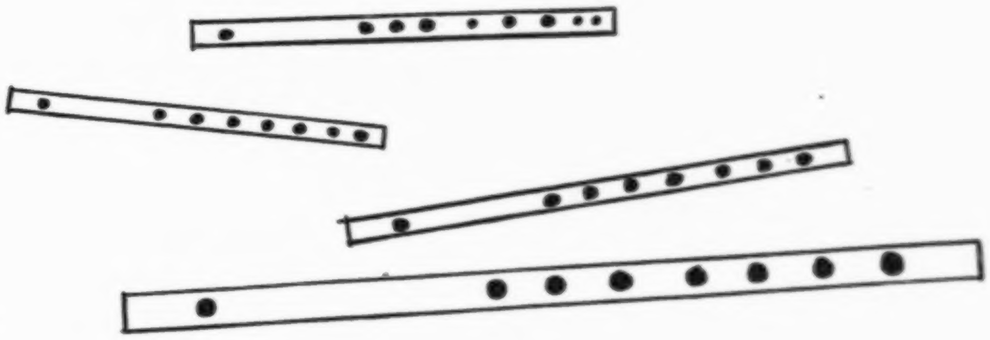
The clarinet has gained in popularity as a medium for art music in recent years. The older Albert system instrument is used so that the fingers are in direct contact with the sound holes for the production of slides and other ornaments, as on the unkeyed nāgasvāram. Two styles have developed--one in which the tone is very close to the double-reed sound of the nāgasvāram and the accompaniment is with tavil, and a second in which the tone is closer to the western concept of clarinet sound and the accompaniment is with the barrel drum, mṛdaṅga.

The mṛdaṅga is the rhythmic instrument par excellence of South Indian music, as the vīṇā is the ideal melodic instrument. It is a barrel drum of highly refined construction, with two complex heads consisting of layers of skin of different types and two different kinds of tuning paste, expertly applied. It must be carefully tuned to the tonic drone, and is capable of about fifteen to twenty different timbres and tones depending on the position of the striking hands or fingers. As with other drums, these sounds can be represented by spoken syllables. The performer's function is continuous improvisation based on hundreds of set patterns learned in his long training. He generally performs at least one solo of ten or fifteen minute's length in the concert as well as accompaniment for all compositions and improvisations within the tāla framework. The mṛdaṅgam is the normal accompaniment for voice, vīṇā, flute and violin.

23. Mṛdaṅga

The South Indian flute is generally smaller and higher-pitched than its North Indian counterpart, but like it is made from bamboo.

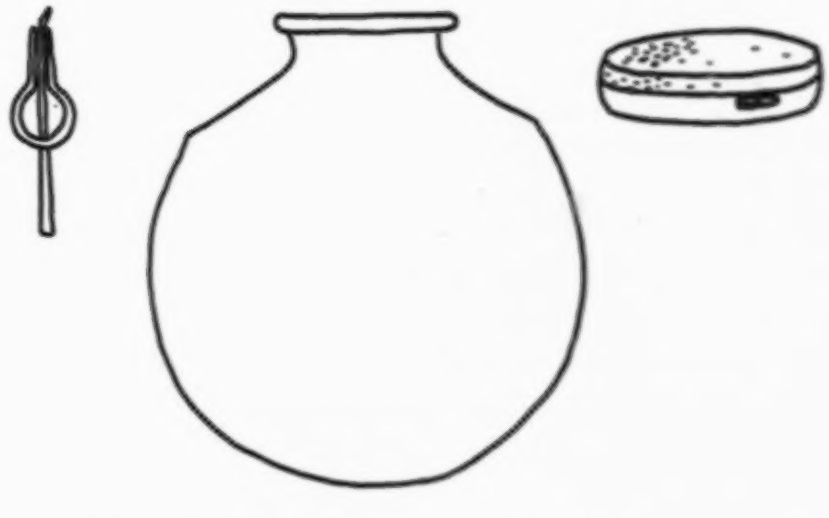
Recording: T. Viswanathan, flute. World Pacific (to be released)



24 North and South Indian Flutes

The western violin adapted for Indian use in the matter of tuning and playing position has been a major accompanying instrument for voice in South India for several decades. It is also heard as a solo instrument and often accompanies flute, clarinet, and sometimes vīṇā. Tuned to the tonic and fifth, it is held between chest and foot, which is not only more comfortable for the musician (who sits cross-legged upon the floor), but also facilitates the many slides and trill-like gamakas that are central to the melodic style. The violin generally answers the soloist during the improvisation, creating a brilliant repartee in the form of a musical dialogue, and it doubles and reinforces the melody of the composed portions of the performance. It has probably replaced the vīṇā or other native instruments because of its greater power in the modern concert hall.

Several secondary rhythmic instruments are often found as accompaniments on the South Indian concert platform. The kanjira is a small tambourine with a single jingle. The morsing is an ordinary metal jew's harp. The ghatam is a round and resonant earthen pot of special fired clay played with the fingers and hands. The opening is stopped against the player's bare stomach for changes in timbre. All of these simple instruments produce a variety of tone and complexity of rhythmic pattern that is sure to astonish a foreign listener hearing them for the first time.



25. Morsing, Ghatam, and Kanjira

The kṛti has been mentioned as the most important musical form in the South. It is generally in three main sections: pallavi, anupallavi, and caraṇam. The text is poetically rich and often deeply philosophical. The composer addresses his deity in fervently emotional terms, beautifully fulfilling the spirit of bhakti. Other important musical forms are the varṇam (a complex style having both words and composed svara passages), the padam and jāvali (florid love songs to the deity which can often be interpreted on the worldly plane as well), the tillana (a highly rhythmic form taken like the padam and jāvali from the repertoire of Bharata Nāṭya, the South Indian classical dance), the Pallavi (a small but intricate composition used as the basis for a grand improvisation), and many other less important musical forms.

On these elaborate forms are raised equally elaborate improvisations, which may be realized in several ways. The ālāpaṇa, improvisation of rāga phrases in free rhythm, outside the tāla and without drum, is of great importance. Occasionally a tānam adds a more regular rhythmic pulsation, although still without tāla and drum. Once a composition has been introduced, two main types of improvisation might be done: neraval, improvisation of new melody in the rāga using a line of the text as the base, and svara kalpaṇa, insertion of improvised passages of svaras (solfeggio), always returning to the composed melody at a certain point in the tāla cycle and at a certain pitch level to link gracefully. The svara kalpaṇa tends to move from shorter to longer and more rhythmically complex patterns, and is usually done in two speeds, first medium and then fast.

Recording: The Sounds of Subbulakshmi. World Pacific WP 1440.

Both Hindustani and Carnatic music require a long and arduous training, the memorization of enormous quantities of musical material through rote teaching, and a close and continuous relationship between teacher and guru for the transmission of both composed pieces and improvisatory techniques. Whether or not the traditional and formalized methods of teaching can be modified to suit a changing society in which few have the security and time for the single-minded concentration necessary to specialize in one particular aspect of art music is a most important question if the great traditions of Indian music are to continue. Thus far, the new music schools and university departments based on European models seem unlikely to train artists of stature, although they are helping to make musical study available to many who will not be concert artists. Indian music is, however, an art for professionals. As the older generation of artists disappears from the concert platforms one by one with few musicians of equal caliber appearing to take their place, there is cause for concern as to what the future holds for Indian art music.

VI. Folk, Tribal, and Popular Music

A wide variety of folk and tribal music can be found in India, although at present few studies of note have been carried out, and a mere smattering of recordings have been made. Even these serve to point up the wealth and diversity of material that abound. The Hindu and Muslim villagers are no less musically inclined than their urban counterparts in Madras or Banaras, but Indian writers have tended to look down upon folk music as inferior and uninteresting in comparison to the rāgas of the art music traditions. A wonderful sound picture of the ancient South Indian countryside, including different types of folk songs that might have been heard, is given in the Śilappadikāram as the Buddhist nun Kavundi leads Kovalan and Mādavi on their journey along the banks of the sacred river Kāveri.

> Thus saying, the venerable Kavundi took up her sacred begging-bowl and her netted bag suspended from her shoulders. Holding a peacock's feathers in her hand and praying that the pañcamantra might be their guide on the way, Kavundi, unrivalled in the practice of virtue, accompanied the other two in their journey.
>
> Though Saturn gets angry, though the (fiery) comet is visible, though Venus of the bright rays travels towards the south (of the sky), no harm is rendered to the Kāvēri which has its source in the wind-swept heights of the Coorg hills where, to the accompaniment of raging thunder, the seasonal clouds pregnant with rain pour down their blessings; the Kāvēri which dashes along with such diverse hill produce to meet the advancing tide of the wealth-bearing sea. But finding her movement arrested by the barrier--the anicut with its doorway--she noisily leaps beyond it in the sportive mood natural to her first freshes. No sound other than this can be heard. We can hear there neither the sound of the bucket, nor of the water-lift; neither the usually loud pecottah, nor the palm-leaf basket used in irrigation.
>
> In the beautiful forest of lotuses appearing out of ponds in regions surrounded by paddy-fields and sugar-cane could be heard, just as in a battle-field where two monarchs fight, different kinds of sounds produced by the water-fowl, the loud-voiced crane, the red-footed swan, the green-footed heron, wild fowl, the water crow (black heron), fishes, creeping insects, birds and big herons.
>
> Wallowing in the mire, in regions left unploughed, black buffaloes would come out with their unwashed hair and their red eyes, and rub their itching backs upon the straw granary when it gets loose and releases the grain stocked within amidst the sheaves of paddy whose rice-corn hangs down like fly whisks made of the fur of the kavari yak. In those places brawny-armed labourers and cultivators would assemble making a motley of sound.

> There was also the sound of (rural) songs sung to (new) tunes by low-caste women in their drunken moods while they looked through their fish-like large eyes and uttered indecent words standing in playful postures and, threw mud upon each other, covering up their broad, bangled shoulders and breasts with mud, having removed the (faded) fragrant flowers from their hair and replaced them with paddy-shoots.
>
> There was also the sound of the benedictory songs (ērmangalam) sung reverently by ploughmen standing by their ploughshares and seeming to break open the ground which they decorated with garlands made of paddy-stalks, luxuriant arugu, and water-lilies.
>
> There was also heard the muhavai song sung (by the field-labourers) when they drove cattle over the reaped paddy sheaves to thresh the corn; and the cheering applause of those who heard the round-shaped tabor smeared with mud played by proud minstrels who used to produce clear music by their kiṇai.
>
> Having heard these sounds in regular succession along the banks of the great rivers, the travellers grew glad in their hearts and did not feel the fatigue of the journey.[7]

Such plentiful folk songs probably bore some resemblance to the classical music tradition of the time, as they do today; we know that there was a limited amount of borrowing back and forth, just as in Europe. On the other hand there are types of music found with certain castes and tribes that cannot be related at all to the mainstream. The hill tribes of North and South India, as well as a number of other relatively isolated ethnic groups often maintain traditions quite distict from one another. Some of these appear to reflect ancient and archaic strands of indigenous music. Others bear resemblance to musical styles of Africa, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, even Indonesia and Melanesia. There are many questions to be resolved.

Perhaps the best approach to the folk and tribal music of India, with its bewildering array of styles, instruments, and social functions, is through the recordings now available, that are at least suggestive of the scope of the problem and inadequacy of our knowledge. Jacket notes are often the only descriptive information available.

Recordings:

a. Columbia World Library of Folk and Primitive Music, Vol. 13: India. Columbia SL 215.
b. Music from South India, Kerala. Folkways FE 4365.

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[7] The Śilappadikaram, op. cit., pp. 160-162.

Recordings (cont.):

c. Au sud de l'Inde. Le Chant du Monde. LO-S 8238.
d. Chants et danses populaires du Bengale.
   Boite a Musique LD 076.
e. Folk Music of Kashmir. Folkways FE 4350.
f. Songs of Assam, Uttar Pradesh and the Andamans.
   Folkways FE 4380.
g. Ritual Music of Manipur. Folkways FE 4479.

Of all the types of India's music, the 'filmi gīt' or popular music is the most ubiquitous. Even the casual tourist on a short visit will hear it on every hand, for it is dispersed through powerful media—primarily films and radio, but also phonograph and jukebox. Bazaar shops and tea stalls blast it into the streets on overloaded loudspeakers; white-collar workers fill the busses and trains with it from pocket transistor radios; college boys and houseboys sing it happily as they bicycle to the day's occupations.

Nearly all Indian films contain a number of popular songs. The movie industry is large, and an army of composers and studio musicians grind out tunes by the hundreds. The vitality content is high, the musical content low—anything that is catchy will do. The melodies may derive from Broadway, Punjabi folk songs, Greek popular music, South American rhythms, in short anywhere. The instruments can be combinations of sitārs, pianos, folk drums, china bowls, French horns, in short anything. The results may be horrifying to musicians, lucrative to tunemakers, and soul-satisfying to millions who have never heard an artist of the great tradition expound a midnight rāga for some small gathering of connoisseurs. What will become of this brash newcomer to the musical scene is anyone's guess. It is raw, commercial, sentimental, exasperating, and amazingly lively. It owes something musical to everyone, but allegiance to no one except an awesomely massive public with an awesomely undeveloped musical taste. Still, the public takes its jangling 'filmi gīt' to heart with enthusiasm and joy just as it has taken its music to heart for centuries.

Recording: Modern Motion Picture Music of India. Capitol T 10090.

We live at a moment in the history of East meeting West that is both thrilling and frightening. Only now does the world become a 'global village.' The reactions to the accelerated exchange of culture are so many and varied that it is hard to see clearly what is happening on all the fronts, even in such a new and specific area of acculturation as music. What does it mean when a sitār virtuoso can pack Lincoln Center, when rock and roll groups try to imitate the 'rāga sound', when American singers improvise on kṛtis in strict classical tradition before maharajas?

At least a few points are clear. We find new insight and perhaps new humility by discovering the many ways that music can be made, and the virtuosity with which others have explored such avenues as, for instance, rhythm. If we listen carefully and with the right spirit, we may even discover new interpretations of the human condition, new visions of serenity and beauty. We may find values that have been neglected or lost, and return to our own ways refreshed and wiser. Our awareness of the enormous power to obliterate that has been built up in the western world is certain to be clarified.

What are the difficulties confronting the westerner who wishes to see the soul of India through her music? There are many, but none that cannot be resolved through patience, the willingness to listen and learn, the application of intelligence, and the acceptance of other concepts of time and the role of ego.

What are the dangers in all of this merging and mixing? Again there are many, at least from the point of view that beauty exists and that it is vulnerable. Just as a lotus will die in a frozen lake, what is tender and delicate, the product of centuries of development in Indian music, can be withered in the blast of applause from a crowd intent of the excitement of mere speed. The relationship of performer and audience in India has been traditionally intimate. The artist responds like a sensitive plant to the nature and expectations of his listeners. In fact, the whole esthetic theory of the rasas rests on the presumption that it is the duty of the rasika (he who 'tastes') to understand and study to his fullest ability what it is that the performer is doing. His enjoyment then goes deep, and the communication of mood is at its fullest and most pleasurable. We have to learn to listen for what the performer can say to us, even though it is new, instead of holding to our own preconceived demands. It is then that he will reveal those gifts that are peculiarly Indian —of which there are many.

The rock and roll musician who carries home a new sitār from the oriental imports store is exercizing the same undeniable prerogative as the Indian film composer who throws in a few delicious piano arpeggios for a dash of the exotic in his latest musical extravaganza. But the results in both cases are likely to be dismal without a little care in finding out what others have done and what can be done. Perhaps the rock and roll may sound better if our player knows that one never steps over a sitār because it is considered to have a soul. If he realizes the truly intimate quality of its sound, he is bound to change the course of rock and roll altogether.

What is happening will happen, and although the foregoing is probably germane, it is simply stating something we already know: the Orient can teach us to be patient. There are ample indications that we are about to sit down and look around, look inside, find other ways of perceiving time. No wonder the popularity of Indian music is growing in the West—it requires all of these things! It is an inner landscape of many colors where no two blossoms are the same.

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CHAPTER IX

MODERN INDIAN LITERATURE

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MODERN INDIAN LITERATURE

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MODERN INDIAN LITERATURE

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Introduction: The Setting

Rabindranath Tagore once wrote:

> Ours is indeed an unfortunate, God-forsaken country where the primary will-to-do is lacking. The capacity to think, to feel, to will is atrophied. The adventure of big striving, of fully and truly living is unknown. Men and women are like shadows flitting about --merely eating and drinking, doing their routine work, smoking and sleeping and endlessly chattering. Our reasoning is infantile and our emotions easily degenerate into sentimentalism. How one misses adult striving and full-blooded living.[1]

While there is perhaps an element of exaggeration in Tagore's indictment of the Indian milieu which exasperated him, one cannot ignore the element of truth in it. On another occasion Tagore himself wrote,

> Once upon a time we were in possession of such a thing as our own mind. It was living, it thought, it felt, it expressed itself. It was receptive as well as productive.[2]

Any one interested in Indian culture and its manifestations has to concern himself with the question--'what brought about this significant change in the Indian milieu?'

The milieu which exasperated Tagore has to be viewed in relation to the political and social changes brought about by the expansion of British power in India. British rule was expanding inland from the coastal regions, and though it brought 'humane, considerate, and equitable government,'[3] it gradually altered the educated Indians' frame of reference. At no other time in India had the intellectual felt the need to justify his culture either to himself or to the world at large. The traditional intellectual groups like the brāhmaṇs, the kāyasthas and the bhadralog felt the impact of Great Britain before other communities felt them. The new rulers also realized the value of these groups to their 'raj', and since the intellectual in India had, generally speaking, aligned himself with the ruling classes, he was the first to see the usefulness of learning English, the language of the new rulers. It is pertinent to remember that, contrary to popular belief, the study of the English language was not imposed on the Indians by the British. As a matter of fact, if one reads only the polemical writings of a reformer like Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772? - 1833) one begins to feel that the articulate Indians of the 19th century felt that the past was nothing more than a bucket of ashes. However, the other writings of Ram Mohun Roy indicate that for tactical reasons he was exaggerating the sterility of Indian learning. Roy, with the assistance of David Hare and Sir Hyde East, chief justice of the supreme court in Calcutta, started the Vidyala as early as 1816 to educate the young on Western lines. There were also other colleges that imparted a Western-oriented education to Indians. However, it was Lord Macaulay who gave a new direction to Indian education. As O'Malley writes,

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[1] Quoted in Krishna R. Kriplani, Rabindranath Tagore: A Biography, New York: Grove Press, 1962, p. 161.

[2] Ibid., p. 193.

[3] William M. Thackeray, quoted in George D. Bearce, British Attitudes Towards India, 1784-1858, London: Oxford U. Press, 1961, p. 244.

> Lord William Bentinck may be said to have responded to a popular demand' when, on the 7th March 1835, after studying Macaulay's well-known minute, he announced his decision in favour of English education.[4]

The universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1857, immediately after the north Indian uprising. The far-reaching effects of the changes in the educational system are yet to be assessed.

The debates that preceded the introduction of English education in India are remarkable for their lack of clarity. Macaulay himself, for all his condescending solicitude for the future of India, was drastically simplifying the issues when he drew a parallel between India and western Europe.

> At that time /around the 14th century in Europe/ almost everything that was worth reading was contained in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction /in India/ has hitherto acted; had they neglected the languages of Cicero and Tacitus; had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island... would England have been what she is now? What Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham our tongue is to the people of India.[5]

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[4] L. S. S. O'Malley (ed.), Modern India and the West, London: Oxford U. Press, 1961, p. 62.

[5] T. B. Macaulay, Selected Speeches, London: Oxford U. Press, n.d., p. 359.

He also wrote that "the languages of Western Europe would do for India what they had done for Russia; and the people, like those of Russia, would emerge from ignorance and take their place among civilized communities."[6] No one can deny the good intentions of Macaulay, but he, like the proponents of English education in India, forgot the differences between Tudor England and 19th century India. English was the language of the rulers, and to some extent of the missionaries who were challenging Hinduism, and the relationship between English and the Indian languages could not be that between equals.

To the 19th century Indian intellectual, English stood for a way of life, and unless one has a reasonable degree of certainty about one's own way of life, contact with another way of life can lead to confusion. During the 18th century and the early decades of the 19th critical activity had come to a standstill, and the necessary distinction between traditionalism and conventionality was no longer recognized in India. The well-known Indian talent for cataloging and categorizing had almost become a barrier between the intelligent reader and the classical and medieval Indian literatures, and there seems to have been no one capable of rebutting Macaulay's dismissal of Sanskrit and Arabic literatures. The brilliant aesthetic principles of the Indian rhetoricians did not, somehow, provide a basis for a reevaluation and reinterpretation of literatures in Indian languages. It is rather pathetic to note that for a long time Indians were too eager to accept the condescending and rather ill-informed praise that foreigners with little critical training bestowed on some Indian writers.

The absence of a live critical tradition that could have made the literature of the past available to the present accounts, at least partly, for the loss of useful contact with the Indian literary tradition. Since a large part of the works of classical and medieval Indian writers were in manuscript form, the general reading public had little contact with Indian literature. This was particularly true of the new elite that was not periodically exposed to the classics in the Indian languages as the non-elite were. It cannot be said that the literary sensibility of the educated Indians who were responding to literature in English was a unified one. This perhaps accounts for the nature of the influence also. One can flatly assert that the English writers who influenced Indian writers during the first two decades of the 20th century were not the best England had to offer. If it is true that anyone trained in the literature in one language will not be easily taken in by the second-rate writers in another language, Indians' responses to writers like Sir Walter Scott, Thomas Hood and Alexander Dumas are revealing commentaries on the state of literary studies in India.

The study of English literature in Indian universities was not very helpful. Since

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[6] Ibid.

English literature was and is admittedly a literature in a foreign language for most Indians, it was rather too tempting for the Indian teacher of English literature to play for safety. The 'greats' of English literature were determined for him by the fashions in England, and, though the diverse literary traditions of India could have encouraged a comparative approach, English literature was never evaluated with reference to literatures in the Indian languages. The little scholarly activity there was was confined to philological studies, and there was the real danger of the Indian professor of English becoming a 'pundit.' The result of this approach to English literature was the fragmentation of the literary responses of Indians.

This fragmentation of literary response is closely connected with the absence of a real historical sense. The often ill-informed criticism leveled against Indian religions and customs by the missionaries would not have mattered if the Indians had enough faith in their own culture. English education that is said to have brought a section of the population 'into pregnant contact with Western ideas, ... and has been a solvent of old traditions and established beliefs'[7] altered the point of view from which the Indians looked at their own culture. It was as if the English educated Indians' scheme of values lost all contact with the traditional scheme of values. It is this changing point of view that accounts for the feel of much Indian writing on India. Even the so-called conservatives were a little too loud in their defence of Indian culture. The apologetic or the defiant tone of the defence often betrays an uncertainty in the Indians' faith in their own culture, and the special pleading that replaces the traditional vigor of disputation is a clear indication of this uncertainty. The exaggerated claims that were made on behalf of Indian culture and Hinduism are also connected with this intense awareness of criticism. This awareness made a dispassionate study of the heritage of India extremely difficult. Two representative responses to the work of two representative Indians of the 19th century would indicate the nature of this difficulty. Commenting on Swami Dayanand's exegesis of the sacred texts of the Hindus, Max Müller wrote:

> To him not only was everything contained in the *Vedas* perfect truth, but he went a step further, and by the most *incredible* interpretations succeeded in persuading himself and others that everything worth knowing, even the most recent inventions of modern science, were alluded to in the *Vedas*. Steam-engines, railways, and steam boats, all were shown to *have* been known, at least in their germs, to the poets of the *Vedas*.[8]

In a similar vein Farquhar tried to summarize some of the views of Swami Vivekananda in these words:

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[7] Muhammad Sadiq, *A History of Urdu Literature*, London: Oxford U. Press, 1964, p. 215.

[8] Quoted by Sadiq, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

> Hindu civilization, since it springs from the oldest and noblest of religions, is good, beautiful and spiritual in every part. The foreigner fails altogether to understand it. All the criticism of European scholars is erroneous, and everything that missionaries say on the subject is wickedly slanderous. The Hindu nation is a spiritual nation. It has taught the world in the past, and will yet teach the whole world again.
>
> European nations and Western civilization are gross, material, selfish and sensual; and therefore their influence is most seriously degrading to the Hindu. It is of the utmost importance that every Hindu should do all in his power to defend his religion and civilization from the poison of Western influence.... The Hindu must even give up his vegetarianism and become a meat-eater, it may be a beef-eater, in order to become strong, and build up a powerful civilization once more on the soil of India.[9]

However useful this kind of pep talk was to the Indian who had lost his self-confidence, such an approach to India's past could not be of any help in the necessary task of discovering the 'usable past'. Neither self-denigration nor self-hypnosis could create the intellectual milieu in which significant intellectual effort could flourish.

The recurring charge of 'immoral' was leveled against Hindu myths, as well as classical and medieval Hindu art and architecture. It is surprising that no one challenged the conception of morality that prompted such charges. No one tried to investigate dispassionately the symbolic function of sensuality in Indian art. Wherever possible the allegorical nature of the symbolism was stressed and the Puritanical disease of viewing everything connected with sex as unmentionable, or at least something of which one had to be ashamed, spread with remarkable ease in a country which, in the past, had recognized desire as one of the legitimate goals of life. The shamefaced approach to aspects of Indian art makes one feel that the Hindus had forgotten the second Brāhmaṇa of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, one of the most daring attempts to connect sex with the cosmic process:

> This world, verily, is a sacrificial fire, O Gautama. The earth, in truth, is its fuel; fire, the smoke; night, the flame; the moon, the coals; the stars, the sparks. In this fire the gods offer rain. From this oblation food arises.
>
> Man (puruṣa), verily, is a sacrificial fire, O Gautama. The

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[9] John N. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, New York: Macmillan, 1915, p. 204.

> open mouth, verily, is its fuel; breath (prāṇa), the smoke; speech, the flame; the eye, the coals; the ear, the sparks. In this fire the gods offer food. From this oblation semen arises.
>
> Woman, verily, is a sacrificial fire, O Gautama. The sexual organ, in truth, is its fuel; the hairs, the smoke; the vulva, the flame; when one inserts, the coals; the feelings of pleasure, the sparks. In this oblation the gods offer semen. From this oblation a person (puruṣa) arises.
>
> He lives as long as he lives. Then when he dies, then they carry him to the fire. His fire, in truth becomes the fire; fuel, the fuel; smoke, the smoke; flame, the flame; coals, the coals; sparks, the sparks. In this fire the gods offer a person (puruṣa). From this oblation the man arises, having the colour of light.[10]

Ironically the land of this hymn and of Vātsyāyana, author of the Kāmasutra, became the stronghold of Victorianism.

The effects of this imported Victorianism can be dramatized by sandwiching a lyric by Tagore between two lyrics of Vidyāpathi of medieval Bengal. (It is also necessary to remember that Tagore was influenced by the Vaiṣṇava poets of medieval Bengal.) Here, for instance, is a poem by Vidyāpathi:

> Listen, O lovely darling,
> Cease your anger.
> I promise by the golden pitchers of your breasts
> And by your necklace snake,
> Which now I gather in my hands,
> If ever I touch anyone but you
> May your necklace-snake bite me;
> And if my words do not ring true,
> Punish me as I deserve.
> Bind me in your arms, hit me with your thighs,
> Choke my heart with your milk-swollen breasts,
> Lock me day and night in the prison of your heart.[11]

Such poems have been traditionally viewed as allegories of the soul's yearning for God, and in the case of this poem as God's yearning for the soul. It is obvious that Vidyāpathi is exploiting conventional images and situations, conventional in the sense that they are the stock-in-trade of many Indian poets, to suggest a mystical experience. The promise to be true to the beloved and the willingness to be punished if one transgresses are common to the erotic and the bhakti conventions. Since the God of the bhakti tradition is not the dread Lord of ascetic traditions, the kind of punishment the lover promises to submit himself to can function on the erotic as well as the religious planes. The unashamed carnality of the poem is directly related to the potency of the Kṛṣṇa myth of the cult of Kṛṣṇa bhakti. The myth made available to the Vaiṣṇava poets like Vidyāpathi a clearly formulated allegorical framework in which images drawn from the world of sense perceptions corresponded to non-sensory and mystical perceptions. As a consequence, the flute of Kṛṣṇa and the abandon with which the gōpis surrendered themselves to the music and the musician could be described in the poem in all its physical details. Tagore had lost this framework and actually belonged to a reformist movement like the Brahmo Samaj that found no use for such non-rational myths. What the loss of contact with the rich myths of the past meant is brought out by the following lyric by Tagore:

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[10] Robert E. Hume (tr.), The Thirteen Principal Upanishads, London: Oxford U. Press, rev. ed., 1931, reprinted in India, 1954, pp. 162-163.

[11] W. G. Archer, The Loves of Krishna, New York: Grove Press, n.d., p. 89.

Because you and I shall meet
The heavens are full of light;
Because you and I shall meet
The world is full of greenery.
Because you and I shall meet
The night is awake with the world in her arms;
And the dawn opens the door in the east
With a burst of song.

The barge of the hope of union
Floats down the current that has no beginning;
And the salver of welcome is loaded
With the flowers of many ages.
Because you and I shall meet
My soul attired as a bride
Moves through the cycles of the universe
Ever so free to choose the bridegroom.[12]

Though the basic image of the lyric, the bride going out to choose the bridegroom, is conventional, the changes Tagore consciously or unconsciously has introduced into the convention make the lyric interesting. The Vaiṣṇava poets of medieval Bengal considered sexual union as the best symbol of the mystic's union with God. A comparison of Tagore's lyric with a poem by Vidyāpathi focuses attention on the changes. In Tagore's lyric the beloved (the devotee) plays an active part in seeking the lover. Clearly the devotee is the beloved. However, when Vidyāpathi uses a similar situation, this is the result:

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12. Rabindranath Tagore, The Bridegroom.

On sharp currents of the river
The boat was launched.
But Kṛṣṇa was young,
He could not steer it.
So I swam across.
My bracelets snapped,
My necklace broke.
Friend, O friend,
Do not scold me with harsh words.
My ear-rings dropped in the river.
I searched for them till dusk.
My make-up was washed away.
My face looks clean as the moon.
Idling on the banks of the river,
My breasts were scratched by thorns.
Says Vidyāpati:
You talk so plausibly,
People might even believe you.[13]

Tagore's poem is much more 'lyrical', in the obvious sense of the word, than Vidyāpathi's, and this difference has to be accounted for. Tonally, Tagore's lyric is very limited in comparison with Vidyāpathi's. Though in both the poems it is the woman who goes in search of the lover, the vague generality of Tagore's poem suggests an element of prudery in the poet's sensibility. It is also significant that the lover and the beloved of the Vaiṣṇava convention become in Tagore the bride and the groom. The love the Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal celebrated was the 'parakiya', the adulterous, since they held that only an adulterous love relation can symbolize the abandon of the mystic's relation with God. Even the motif of the woman going in search of the lover, unconventional in the orthodox Hindu context, undergoes changes in Tagore. While Tagore's lyric suggests marriage, Vidyāpathi's describes mating. Nor can the mode of Tagore's lyric be viewed as simply another mode of mystic poetry. For, an inability or unwillingness to use overtly sensual situations and experiences to symbolize mystical yearnings and experiences do not adequately account for the vague and unsatisfactory generality of Tagore's lyric. The Kannada Śaivite mystics of the 12th century could not use overtly sensual situations and images because of the traditional conception of Śiva as the Great Ascetic. But they could get around the problem by being more oblique whenever they used sexual imagery to communicate their mystical experiences. Here, for instance, is a literal translation of a prose poem by Akka Mahādevi, a 12th century mystic poetess from Karnatak:

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[13] Deben Bhattacharya (tr.), Love Songs of Vidyapati, W. G. Archer (ed.), London: Allen and Unwin, 1963.

> Fire is not born without contact;
> Seeds do not sprout without contact;
> Body is not made without contact;
> Joy is not felt without contact;
> Lord Arjuna of the beautiful jasmine
> Through the mystic contact with your men
> I became ecstatic.[14]

The five separate statements in the poem are connected with one another by the deliberate repetition of the negation in the first part of the statements and of the word 'contact' (probably from the Sanskrit word 'sangha'). Obviously, the poem functions by exploiting the semantic ambiguity of the word 'contact.' The first statement, for instance, indicates two ways in which fire is born: by the contact of sparks with firewood and by the more violent contact of flint with flint. This process of making fire refers the reader to a Hindu ritual--a yajña--in which fire is made by rubbing two pieces of wood. Since the sex act was viewed as a ritual, and since begetting a son is a religious duty, the sexual implications of the word 'contact' are strengthened. The first statement that refers to a momentary as well as a continued contact and friction that make fire, leads to the second statement that obliquely refers to the piercing, the planting, and the impregnation that precede the sprouting of seeds. Since in many cultures the earth is viewed as a woman, the sexual connotations of the word 'contact' are obviously there in the statement. This leads to the third statement in which the sexual suggestion of the word 'contact' is unambiguous. These increasingly sexual overtones affect the readers' response to the poem. There is also a difference between the word 'joy' ('sarva sukha') and 'ecstatic' ('parama sukhi'). The very generality of the word 'joy' in contrast with the specific and more intense 'ecstatic' in the final line allows the fourth statement to function on an obvious level and thus helps the word 'contact' to suggest only 'acquaintance' or 'friendship.' But the final statement, because of the phrase 'your men' and the word 'mystic', considerably extends the meaning of the word 'contact', and this extension of meaning is prepared for by the ambiguities and the veiled suggestions of the previous statements. If we look at the result of 'contact' in each line, we notice a parallel progression--the sudden flash of fire, the gradual sprouting of a seed, the conception and birth of a child, the general joy and the more intense ecstacy. Also one notes that the phrase 'your men' (śaraṇa) lessens the sexual connotations of the word 'contact.' Even the form of address Akka Mahādevi chose for Śiva, Lord Arjuna of the beautiful jasmine, focuses attention on the aesthetic response that is also suggestive of a sexual response.

Thus Akka Mahādevi, who could not simply treat Śiva as the Supreme Lover since such a conception was opposed to the traditional conception of Śiva, gets around the problem of communication by exploiting the semantic ambiguities of her language so that the poem could communicate a mystical perception through physical imagery. Since Tagore, the representative poet of the early decades of the 20th century, denies himself the erotic-religious convention of the medieval Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal and perhaps unconsciously tries to make his poem 'respectable, ' the differences in the feel of these poems may represent changed attitudes toward sex. This change may have stemmed in part from Indians' awareness of Western charges of 'immorality' in classical and medieval Indian art.

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[14] This is a literal translation from the original Kannada.

This is not to suggest that all religious poems have to use erotic images. Other relations, mother-son, father-son and servant-master, have been used by classical and medieval Indian poets, and the success or failure of a religious poem does not depend upon the particular relationship the poet chooses to symbolize his relationship with God. The poems succeeded only when the correspondence was complete. An example might be cited from a medieval Kannada Vaiṣṇava saint, Purandaradāsa. In one of his songs he conceives of himself as the mother of Lord Kṛṣṇa. His responses to God are communicated by a concrete situation--a mother lovingly coaxing her son to wake up using the breakfast menu as a temptation. What one misses in Tagore's poem is the absence of a complete correspondence. This, perhaps, is connected in some way with a milieu that was apologetic about certain manifestations of religious and, for that matter, human experience.

The Novel and the Short Story

The development of prose as an effective means of communication has often been ascribed to Western influence. 'Effective, ' however, is a loaded word, and perhaps it is better to say that during the 19th and the 20th centuries prose was used for specialized purposes. Indian aestheticians of the past did not subscribe to the view that prose and verse, as means of communication, are to be used for specialized purposes only. For them verse was just a formal arrangement of words, and the mere presence or absence of this arrangement did not connote qualitative differences. Verse forms were used by mathematicians and philosophers as well as writers of imaginative literature. However, the aestheticians distinguished imaginative literature from literature of knowledge when they used the words kāvya for imaginative literature and śastra for literature of knowledge. According to them it is the presence or absence of dhvani (suggestion) or alaṁkāra (figurative language) or vakrōkti (devious speech) that distinguishes kāvya from śastra. Hence it was not necessary for them to use phrases like 'The Novel as Dramatic Poem'[15] to emphasize the 'poetic' use of language by a novelist. They were, however, aware of the prosaic and poetic qualities of writing.

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[15] This suggestive phrase was first used by F. R. Leavis in his article on Dickens' Hard Times (see Scrutiny XIV, Cambridge).

Prose, even as a formal arrangement of writing, was known in classical and medieval India. The campu kāvyas in Sanskrit and in the South Indian languages indicate that prose as a special use of language was also known. The best of the campu kāvyas used prose for descriptive purposes and verse for the communication of heightened states of emotion. The formal differences between the prose of those kāvyas and the prose used by modern Indian writers cannot be explained in terms of influences only. One has to take into account the differences between the modes of communication. Since printing was unknown in classical and medieval India, and since the possession of manuscripts was a luxury that a large section of the public could not afford, the literature in a language was made known to the public through recitation. As a consequence the rise and fall of the human voice could indicate the pauses which are now indicated by marks of punctuation. So the development of a modern prose style has much to do with the changing relation between a writer and his public.

An indigenous prose style was developing in some Indian languages towards the beginning of the 19th century, and the missionaries accelerated the process by introducing printing. The early translations of the Bible cannot be said to be models of good prose style. If the Kannada translation of the Bible (which is still used) is any indication of the prose style the missionaries are supposed to have introduced, the traditional accounts of the emergence of prose in Indian languages needs revision. Prose developed and became the medium of fiction because of the changes that were taking place in Indian society and because of the emergence of a new reading public.

Fiction in the strict sense of the word, and as distinct from the traditional narrative literature, became a major form of literature in India because of British influence. But the influence of the British literature cannot be separated from the influence of British culture and mores. In most of the Indian languages historical fiction developed before social fiction, and this, in itself, is a significant fact. There was, as I have argued in the previous section of this essay, the need to regain the lost pride in Indian culture. Though it is generally known that the writers of historical novels in Indian languages came under the direct or indirect influence of the 'historical' novels of Sir Walter Scott and Alexander Dumas, the reasons for the differences in feel between Scott's and Dumas' historical novels and those of Indian novelists have not been investigated. It is very unlikely that Scott used his novels to revive Scottish nationalism. But on internal evidence alone one can argue that the Indian historical novelist wanted to use his fiction for reviving Indian nationalism. Historical novelists like Bankim Chandra Chaṭṭōpādhyāya, Rākhal Dās Bānnerjee (both from Bengal), Hari Nārāyaṇ Āpṭe (from Maharashtra) and B. Venkatāchārya Kerūr and Gaḷaganāth (from Karnatak) were consciously using their fiction to portray 'the wonder that was India.' [16] Episodes from regional histories were fictionalized. Some of them tried to be faithful to the historical material available to them, but their works were marred by the very lofty sentiments and the conscious sense of nationalism. Very few of these novelists seem to have had a 'sense of history', and as a consequence they neither portray the 'finished' past for its own sake nor are they able to work into their novels the necessary awareness of the differences between the past and the present. Hence history becomes romance and does not communicate the complexity of life. Nor did they find a form that could have made their conscious or unconscious simplification of history meaningful. The failure to find a suitable form and the propagandist intentions of the writers are probably responsible for the poor quality of these novels.

The highly Sanskritized idiom used by the historical novelists is probably connected with their unawareness of the novel as a form and their propagandist intentions. The need to create 'atmosphere' cannot justify the stylistic barbarisms of many of these writers. They did not seem to have felt the need to use their language creatively. Since their simplistic intentions made any attempt to communicate the nuances of response unnecessary, an incantatory style was all they needed. The Sanskritized and abstract style they employed and the very fact that they were fictionalizing historical events distanced their novels from contemporary experience, and the novels could arouse vague and lofty sentiments in a certain kind of reader. The few attempts that were made to employ a colloquial style in historical fiction were not influential. [17]

Many of these historical novelists had didactic intentions also. The fall of kings and kingdoms are often ascribed by them to moral lapse. But because of a simplified notion of human character and motivation, the virtuous and the morally corrupt become stock figures. Such figures, however, are not parts of a total design as the two dimensional figures of the morality plays or of the stylized Sanskrit drama are. Whatever might have been the intentions of these writers, their failure, in the final analysis, is related to their unawareness of the possibilities of the form they used. Though there are superficial resemblances between the narrative literature in Indian languages and these historical novels, the essential differences cannot be ignored. The indigenous narrative literatures these novels superseded (or tried to supersede) drew their strength from a total culture; and, even when they were to serve the cause of a religion, they did not become sectional in their appeal because the religious view of life was a total

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16. In some parts of India the 'lofty' tone of the historical novel influenced social fiction also.

17. One notable example is a Gujarati novel, Nand Shankar Mehta's Karan Ghēlō, in which the author tried to use a colloquial idiom. But the novel was not influential and the historical fiction in Gujarati was once again Sanskritized by Saraswathi Chandra.

view. The historical novels written during the last decades of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th testify to a fragmentation of vision.

Like some of these historical novelists, a large number of writers who wrote social novels tried to use their writing to voice their dissatisfaction with some flaws in their society. Some of them wrote about the position of widows in Hindu society. But the writers of social novels, like the historical novelists, did not have an intellectual framework that could have made their social criticism meaningful. Many of them yielded to the temptation of making their sense of outrage the framework of their novels. Quite often the social ills they attacked were inseparable from the social fabric itself, and the attacks were made solely from secular points of view. In this the writers of social novels differed from the medieval reformers who sometimes wrote good literature. The framework of the medieval reformers and the public at large was quite often the same; there was no need to accept or at least entertain a point of view different from one's own or from that of one's society to understand a writer. In the medieval mind, social reform was ultimately religious reform, and, because of this, impersonal assumptions could be made use of in any attempts to articulate dissatisfactions with society.

This does not mean that the writers of social fiction invented their own theories of society. But often their sense of injustice and feelings of outrage did not spring from an imaginatively conceived alternative. The vagueness of conception probably accounts for the direct relationship between the sensibility of an author and the sense of injustice his works tried to communicate. In other words the reader had to adopt the writer's point of view, and the novel itself did not persuade the reader to accept a point of view other than his own through dramatized episodes and other novelistic devices.

A comparison between two writers, Prem Chand, the well-known Hindi and Urdu writer, and M. S. Puṭṭaṇṇā, a less-known Kannada writer, will illuminate an aspect of the problem of this kind of Indian fiction. Some sentences from Muhammad Sadiq's A History of Urdu Literature pose the problems that any critical reader of Prem Chand has to face. Mr. Sadiq writes:

> Prem Chand is an idealist who has created a new world to redress the balance of the old. His novels are a strong expression of the idealistic reaction in favour of the poor and humble that came in the wake of the Indian Renaissance. He is not moved to indignation by the selfishness and perversity that afflict society; his function is to reveal the soul of beauty in unlikely places, which on account of our selfish interests and conventional ethics we fail to perceive. He does not beg on the humble the supercilious condescension of the rich; he obliterates the differences which wealth and snobbery have made between the high and the low, by revealing

> the essential humanity of the latter; by demonstrating how goodness, truthfulness, fellow-feeling, and sacrifice find a more congenial soil among the poor than on the arid heights of the rich. A democrat by temperament, Prem Chand is a reformer and dreamer by environment. The persistence and inveteracy of the evils he has to fight are reflected in his writings in two different ways. Sometimes he is grimly realistic, holding the mirror up to the philistine world in its callousness and inhumanity, as in *Bazar-e-Husn*. On other occasions the dream element, so strong in him, asserts itself; the hard facts of life take on a pleasing malleability, and he fashions the world to his heart's desire. Such is the genesis of his fiction....
>
> Prem Chand's characters vividly reflect his surroundings. He has a steady grasp of village life, and has furnished a fine portrait gallery of men and women from rural areas. His peasants are Wordsworthian in the sense that they are intimately connected with the soil: their whole life is woven out of the influences that breathe about them.
>
> He is at his weakest in the higher spheres of society. He knows little of high life, and falls back on hearsay and theory in its portraiture. Viney, Sophia, Mr. Clark, and others, are all lay figures stuffed with sawdust. They have not an ounce of flesh or a drop of blood between them, and their conduct, motivated by propaganda alone, arouses little or no interest.
>
> In the second place, Prem Chand's failure in characterization is referable to his strong sympathies and prejudices.... the tendency to exaggerate is most manifest in whatever he does not like. He has no feeling for urban life and his attitude towards it is uniformly cynical and destructive...[18]

When Prem Chand's well-known novel *Godan* is looked at from a structural point of view, one has to admit that Prem Chand was not sufficiently aware of the possibilities of the novel as a form. Sadiq's comments that Prem Chand knew very little of 'high life' and that he had 'no feeling for urban life' become significant in any attempt to investigate the causes of his novel's failure. One notes that the complex of village life that is closely observed and vividly described is set against supposedly urban life that does not come alive in the novel. Interestingly, the characters who are supposed to stand for urban attitudes are two-dimensional. As a consequence a reader who does not uncritically adopt Prem Chand's sympathies and antipathies will begin to feel that the dice are loaded in favor of village life. The novel depends on 'stock responses' and does not organize experience into meaningful patterns. However, the failure of *Godan* is not just formal. A comparison of that novel with

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[18] Sadiq, *op. cit.*, pp. 346-350.

M. S. Puṭṭaṇṇā's *Māḍiddunṇō Mahārāya* (Reap As Thou Sowest) suggests that the failure of *Godan* is connected with Prem Chand's attitudes to society.

Māḍiddunṇō Mahārāya has not been translated into English and probably is not known to those who do not read Kannada. The differences between this novel and the social novels written later dramatize the changes in sensibility that have taken place in India. Puṭṭaṇṇā's insistence that the language of fiction should have a close relationship with the spoken idiom and that the novelist should look around him for themes indicate his belief thet the writer's imagination should be related to the cultural complex to which he belongs. The didactic intent of the author is apparent from the title itself. If one remembers that many Indian novels with didactic intentions show a tendency towards sentimentality, Puṭṭaṇṇā's novel throws interesting light on the subtle changes in the Indian novelist's responses to his own culture--changes that are noticeable all through this century. The unsentimental tone of *Māḍiddunṇō Mahārāya* is probably related to the novelist's total acceptance of social norms of conduct and standards of judgment. The major theme of the novel is the vindication of chastity and the Hindu norms of right conduct--a theme that has been the undoing of many writers. The novel portrays the trials of a brāhmaṇ couple. The court of the king of Mysore is portrayed as the ultimate center of secular and moral authority, and the village brāhmaṇ derives his authority from his traditional position and from his connections with the royal court. But as most of the action takes place in an inaccessible village, attempts at violating the moral and secular order become possible. The disruptive forces are symbolized by a band of robbers who live in the village, and as we learn towards the end of the novel, the robber chief is the priest of a female deity whose temple is outside the village. Chastity becomes symbolic of the moral order. Since the robber chief tries to violate the chastity of the brāhmaṇ's wife, the attempts to violate the secular and the moral order are capable of symbolizing an attempt to violate the metaphysical order. 'The density of specification' saves the novel from becoming a moral tract. Though the novel reads in parts as social documentation, in parts as a thriller, and in parts as low comedy, all these disparate elements are held together by the novelist's total and unconscious commitment to socially approved values. As a consequence, events assume symbolic significances, and though, as is to be expected, the novel ends with the vindication of the moral and secular order through the agency of the king, the vindication does not strike the reader as wish fulfillment.

The relationship the novel assumes towards social norms, and more important than this, the relationship it persuades the reader to assume towards those norms, makes it interesting from an historical point of view apart from the contrast it provides to 'committed' novels. Many later novelists have found such a matter-of-fact acceptance of traditional norms difficult. Even those writers who have been able to accept the traditional norms in a matter-of-fact way can be roughly divided into certain broad categories. The acceptance of some led them to use language rhetorically and to idealize (and not stylize) some of the characters in their fiction.

The rhetoric and the idealization often betray an uncertainty in the authors' attitudes to the norms they try to affirm. Some others limited the range of their fiction, and as a consequence one misses an awareness of a total culture in their writings. Such writing either becomes idyllic or ignores the changes that have taken place. The scene of action is often a village and the milieu, the writers assume, is either unaffected or can absorb the changes that have taken place. The third group, perhaps the most significant one, is interested in the theme of culture itself.

But before we discuss the third group of writers it is necessary to consider a vocal group who came to the forefront during the 1930's and 1940's: the Progressives. The All India Progressive Writers' Association came into existence in 1928 with the blessings of writers like Tagore and Prem Chand and of statesmen like Jawaharlal Nehru. In course of time regional associations were formed. The 'Progressive' writers were influenced by the 'Radical' writers of the 1930's and were fond of dividing all writers into two camps: the Progressives and the Reactionaries. The Reactionaries, they argued, had no 'social consciousness' and so upheld the doctrine of 'Art for Art's Sake.' The professed attitudes of writers to political and social issues became the criterion of literary judgment, and important writers were summarily dismissed because of their attitudes. One wishes that these 'revolutionary' writers had paid some attention to Karl Marx's shrewd comments on the 'revolutionary' and the 'bourgeois' writers and his preference for 'bourgeois' writers like Balzac.[19] The 'Progressive' writers' tendency to confuse 'intentions' with 'achievement' made dispassionate criticism difficult, and some of the 'Progressive' writers dominated the literary scene in India for at least two decades. Their books, particularly their novels, sold well, and the popularity of these writers had much to do with their ability to manipulate stock responses. Their portrayals of 'heroes' and 'villains' were melodramatic, and their idiom cannot be distinguished from journalese on the one hand and from political oratory on the other. It is significant that in some parts of India some of the successful Progressive writers were lionized by adolescents. While no one can deny the nobility of their intentions and the useful role some of them played as social reformers, their simplistic attitudes to literature came in the way of their becoming literary artists. The popularity of some of these writers had much to do with the sensationalism of their writing, and the social problems they wrote about were rarely transformed into themes. As a result, the necessary distinction between a social problem and a theme was lost. For instance, many of these writers wrote novels and stories about the problem of prostitution. They could, by overtly denouncing the institution, claim to be in favor of justice and decency, but they could, at the same time, pander to their reading public by including graphic descriptions of human anatomy and sometimes of sexual bouts. Some of them justified themselves by tiresome reiterations of the right of the artist to do what he wants to or by saying

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19. See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Literature and Art, Bombay: Current Book House, 1952.

that the writers of classical and medieval India were no prudes. But ironically they accepted the moral function of art, and their conception of morality was puritanical. Hence they were open to the charge of moral irresponsibility, since their intentions and the design of their fiction never came together. Further, since their popularity depended on the sensationalism of their novels, these writers were constantly after subjects that could provide novel sensations. A chronological study of the novels of many of these writers would demonstrate this.

Some of the writers were not swept away by the Progressive movement. Their faith in their function as artists and their respect for their themes are remarkable, and the successes they achieved are connected with these factors. If one goes through the first series of Contemporary Indian Short Stories[20] one notes that of the fifteen stories in the volume only one, Masti Venkatesa Iyengar's 'The Curds-seller', is satisfactory from an artistic point of view. Masti was one of the writers denounced as a reactionary by the Progressives. On the basis of his works alone one can say that he has abiding faith in the traditional norms of conduct. Since the story is printed after Prem Chand's 'The Child', a comparison of the two will dramatize the differences between Masti's and Prem Chand's attitudes to 'tradition' and the consequences of those differences.

In both the stories characters belonging to the lower classes are used to serve specific functions: to enrich the awareness of characters belonging to the middle classes. But the tonal differences between the two are brought to a focus by the last lines of the stories. Prem Chand's story ends with -- "'You are the embodiment of goodness,' I said, 'and the child adds charm to it. Let me come with you and meet Gomti.' And we both went to Gangu's house."[21] Gangu, the brāhmaṇ, belongs to the lower classes (though he belongs to a high caste) and is a grotesque. The intention of the author seems to be to draw the reader's attention to the gulf between the middle classes and certain verities. Unlike Masti's story, there is very little 'density of specification' in Prem Chand's story, and this lack of density is all the more interesting since Prem Chand knew the lower classes fairly well. One does not even feel that the characters 'represent' certain classes; the revelation in the story is a purely personal one in the sense that only one, the narrator of the story, realizes his lack of awareness. In this sense the story is limited. In contrast, Masti's major characters, Mangamma the curds-seller and the narrator, are placed in specific social contexts. Without any effort at conscious symbolism Masti is able to communicate a sense of a whole society and to affirm a common humanity. In spite of caste and social distinctions, and probably because of a recognition of these distinctions, the narrator can represent an objective point of view and thus can bridge the gulf between the urban middle class reader and the social milieu of Mangamma. As a consequence the authorial comment -- "The same battle goes on in the house of Mangamma the curds-seller in the village, and of Thangamma the curds-buyer in the city. The last act of this play will never be written"[22] -- does not disturb the sophisticated reader as it would if the story had not already communicated these perceptions. The sense of a community of people held together by common bonds and assumptions also accounts for the lack of emotionalism and sensationalism in the kind of Indian writing represented by Masti's stories.

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[20] New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1959.

[21] Ibid., p. 42.

However, the writers who could not take the validity of traditional assumptions and beliefs for granted and who could not simplify the problems and themes as many of the Progressives did, had to tackle their problem as writers differently. For these writers 'quest' became the central theme. In trying to explore this theme, the novelists and short story writers either made their central characters go out of their region (and sometimes out of their country), or they interested themselves in isolated communities that could be contrasted directly or indirectly with communities that were already changing. When, however, the central character became a globe trotter, many novelists could not resist the temptation of converting their novels into travelogues. Often the novels became episodic; no Indian language has had a novelist of the order of a Henry James who could use the 'international theme' successfully. Some of the writers who confined themselves to a region and tried to explore the theme of 'transformation' of a society wrote competent novels. Although these writers used small, 'stable' societies as centers of reference, the best of them (like K. Shivarama Karanth of Karnatak)[23] cannot be called 'primitivists' in any sense of the term. Since their interest in the complex of beliefs and attitudes characteristic of small communities is different from that of the writers for whom life in the village is 'idyllic', the word 'stable' used earlier is perhaps misleading. The small communities that interest them are portrayed as having already felt the impact of the bigger communities represented by the city; the stability that is undoubtedly there is often the result of a lack of contact with the outside world. In any case, the stability is perceived to be transitory; as a consequence, the best of these novels never endorse the simplistic notion of a 'return to nature'. In this sense the successful regional novelists broke away from the literary romanticism; emotion is generated by the 'fable' and the observed life rather than by the sensibility of the writer. Though it is sometimes argued that the Progressive Writers enlarged the scope of the novel, it is perhaps the regional novelists who did that.

The perception that the stability of the small communities cannot be taken for granted, a perception that the best of the regional novelists communicated to their readers, also prepared the way for a new kind of fiction characterized by a greater consciousness of the short story and the novel as forms. Very few of the regional novelists achieved the kind of popularity the Progressives achieved by vulgarizing public taste. The reading public of the new novel is limited, and, however unfortunate this may be from a general point of view, the awareness of a limited, and often sophisticated, reading public is partly responsible for the technical sophistication one notes in the new novel. This recognition of the split in the reading public has also given rise to the 'little magazines' that publish experimental writing and literary criticism. An awareness of the potentialities of symbols (and sometimes the conscious determination to *use* symbols) characterizes the new fiction. Fiction, like other forms of literature, has ceased to be the 'frontal attack on the universal'[24] it was during the preceding three decades.[25]

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[22] Ibid., p. 54.

[23] The novels of these writers are interesting from a sociological point of view also. Some of these writers were interested in Sociology.

Poetry

Verse forms of literature have had a fairly long tradition in all the Indian languages and as a consequence the relationship between 'tradition' and 'modernity' in Indian poetry assumes special significance. In any consideration of modern Indian poetry one is struck by two interesting facts: (1) the break with traditional verse form, and (2) the apparent responsiveness of Indian poets to changing fashions in the West. The break with traditional verse forms cannot be accounted for solely in terms of 'alien' influences, though there has been considerable foreign influence on modern Indian poetry. The break has probably much to do with the changes in the languages which the poets could not ignore any longer, and the gradual emergence of prose fiction.

Some of the classical and medieval meters could not be used by the modern poets since the Indian languages had undergone many changes and the poets who wanted to use the classical and the medieval metrical forms had to use older forms of the languages. Further, those meters had been used for centuries, and it was

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24. This phrase is used by Daniel Curley in his review of Katherine Anne Porter's *Ship of Fools*. See *Kenyon Review*, XXV (Autumn, 1963), p. 672.

25. These writers include: (1) Ilā Chandra Joshi who is said to have written the first psychological novel in Hindī; (2) Kamal Muzumdār (Bengali) who deliberately uses the diction of Bankim Chandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya and effectively contrasts the exaggerated style with his subject matter; (3) Khānolkar who has written a symbolic novel *Ajghar* ('The Python') in Marathi; (4) Śrīkānt Shāh whose Gujarati novel *Asthi* reads like a putting together of independent passages but communicates the meaninglessness of life; (5) Suresh Joshi whose Gujarati novel *Chinna Patra* tries to communicate fragmented experiences by using well-defined images; and (6) writers like Rāv Bahāddūr and U. R. Anantha Murthy (Kannada) who use the traditional form of the novel but have considerably enlarged its scope in their language.

perhaps inevitable that poets had to experiment in verse forms. Since prose fiction replaced verse narratives by and large, the meters used by the classical and the medieval poets who wrote verse narratives had either to be refashioned or abandoned. Further, the meters used by the earlier poets cannot be viewed in isolation from the 'view of life' or preconceptions about poetry that were generally accepted by those poets. Throughout this century Indian society and the poet's relationship with it has been changing, and the changing relationship has affected poetic forms as well as the subject matter of poetry.

Because of the changes in Indian society, the Indian poets' attitudes to the so-called alien influences are more complex than they are generally assumed to be. It is sometimes said that the modern Indian poets are imitative. Though one cannot deny the influence of the British 'Romantic' poets on the Indian poets of the first three decades of this century and of the Western 'modernists' on some of the Indian poets who came to the forefront during the 1940's, the similarities cannot be explained away either in terms of imitation or of mere influence.

It is true that many English poems were translated into Indian languages before the new poetry came to be written by Indians. It is also true that in many Indian languages the attempts to translate led to a discovery of new metrical forms and subject matter. But these translations and the poems inspired by these translations filled a need. They could not have been influential if the sensibility of the Indian poets had not changed. Since the new poetry came to be written at a time when the 'Romantics' were more popular than they are today, Indian poetry of the first few decades of this century can be called 'Romantic' in the general sense of the word.[26] A new kind of love and nature poetry came to be written in the Indian languages, and the differences between these poems and the classical and medieval love and nature poetry indicates the nature of the differences between the milieu of the modern Indian poet and that of the classical and medieval poets. The classical and medieval love poetry was frankly erotic--and the very poetic conventions in all the Indian languages, with the possible exception of Tamil and Urdu, saw to it that the love poems were erotic also. The Romantic love lyric, however, is rarely erotic, and concerns itself primarily with 'love in separation.' 'Love in separation' had been recognized by the ancient Indian rhetoricians, but the vagueness and the 'unphysicality' of the romantic love lyric distinguishes it from the classical and the medieval love lyric. This difference is probably related more to the 'Victorianism' of the Indian milieu than to influences only.

The classical and the medieval Indian poet who wrote epics was expected to include descriptions of nature in his work, but those descriptions were often highly stylized set pieces. Nature was rarely looked upon as a benevolent mother; perhaps such an idealized attitude to nature is not possible in a predominantly agricultural country. As the sensibility of the Indian poet became urbanized, he began to ascribe special qualities to nature and the people close to nature. The modern Indian poet had of course read his Wordsworth, but the phenomenon of Indian nature poetry cannot be explained away with the help of the Wildean epigram--'Nature imitates art.' The influence of Wordsworth was considerable, but the urbanization of sensibility and the poet's conscious or unconscious awareness of his estrangement from the village, and of the limited reading public he had, seem to be more important than influences.

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[26] Most of the 'Chāyā Vād' poets in Hindi are considered by some critics to be Romantics. Some of the other poets of this generation are Uma Shankar Joshi and Sundaram (both from Gujarat), K. V. Puttappa and Bendre (both from Mysore).

The idealism generated by the struggle for Independence also influenced the poets of the first four decades of this century. Perhaps patriotism, like dreams of a glorious future or dreams of a glorious past, is not conducive to good poetry because of the very vagueness of those sentiments. A great deal of influential patriotic verse was written in all the Indian languages, but most of those poems have a historical significance only. Sometimes the real achievements of a poet like Bharati (Tamil) were actually clouded over by the more readily accessible patriotic verses he wrote. This kind of verse, like the historical and social fiction referred to earlier, exploited or catered to general and public sentiments. The poems became rhetorical and declamatory; even when they did not, they witnessed to an unmistakable split between intelligence and sensibility. In this sense a great deal of Indian poetry written during the first four decades of this century is dream poetry.

In many ways Rabindranath Tagore is the representative Indian poet of the early decades of this century. Apart from his probable influence on other Indian poets of his generation, his poems reflect the changing moods of Indian poetry. The poems he wrote during the early and middle periods of his career can be described as 'aesthetic-mystical.' In this, they are perhaps very close to the poems written by the Pre-Raphaelites of England, though in fairness to Tagore one has to admit that he is not insignificant as a poet as most Pre-Raphaelites are. Though his mystical verse has some connection with Indian mystical poetry of the previous centuries, Tagore denied himself the advantages of the conventions that helped the Indian mystic poets of the past. Even when he conformed to those conventions, he watered them down considerably (as was argued in a previous section of this chapter). Nor did he create new conventions that might have given a precision to his poems. The real and the ideal are rarely fused in his poems; as a consequence his poems are dominated by mood only.[27]

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[27] A good discussion of Tagore's later poetry is to be found in Sisirkumar Ghose's The Later Poems of Tagore, New York: Asia Publishing House, 1961.

The later poems of Tagore are interesting because they represent a break with the characteristic mood of his earlier poetry. Even in the last poems, however, the predominant mood is one of romantic pessimism that does not herald a break with the dominant tone of the Indian poetry of the first few decades of this century. This is perhaps why Tagore is no longer a potent influence even in Bengal. Quite often his poetry tends to become a symbol of attitudes to life and to art that some of the contemporary Indian poets reject vehemently.

Significant poetry written in India after India became free is characterized by a distrust of vague sentiments and large gestures. Paradoxically the union and state Sahitya Akademies (Academies of Letters) seem to have alienated the really significant writers. Perhaps the phenomenon is not so paradoxical since the 'Akademies' have played for safety and have rarely recognized new talent. Their awards have usually gone to writers who were interesting once upon a time and have become dull and repetitive in recent years. The well-intentioned directives given to the writers by men of public importance have contributed their share to the alienation of the promising writer from the very institutions that were founded to encourage the arts. In each language area in India one can find writers who are defiantly 'anti-Establishment'. If the contemporary literary scene in India is interesting, it is largely due to such groups. Some of these poets have been influenced by T. S. Eliot and some others by the French Symbolists.

The fact that T. S. Eliot and the French Symbolists have become influential is interesting in itself. Though Romanticism was a spent force by the 1940's, this phenomenon cannot be explained solely in terms of a reaction to Romanticism. Some of these modernists began as Romantics but soon realized the 'unreality' of the Romantic stance. Many poets of an earlier generation who continued to write became 'philosophical' and very few of them could resist what soon came to be, the snares of Sri Aurobindo. They have rarely written mystic poetry of a high order; in their pseudo-mystical verse they have often contented themselves with idealistic gestures. The poets who came into prominence during the 1940's, particularly in the poems they wrote after India became free, focused attention on what can be roughly called 'contemporary reality.' They began to write about subjects that the poets of an earlier generation would have considered to be unpoetic. As a consequence the use of imagery and idiom underwent remarkable changes. Sometimes their poems were unfairly called obscene, unpoetic and difficult, but the best of these modernists brought back into poetry an adult and complex response to life and an intellectual vigor in organizing those responses. It is easy to draw parallels between some of these developments and developments in European and American poetry, but it is necessary to remember that the poetry of the West gave an impetus to developments that were perhaps inevitable. The distrust of an unearned idealism and optimism is one of the characteristics of the modernist poetry in India. Though the readership for these poets is small, their influence on practicing writers and their challenge to critics have been immense.[28]

Drama

Since drama is a communal art, the changes in a society have a direct bearing on it. One of the significant developments in Indian drama during this century is the split between 'popular' drama and 'sophisticated' drama. The dramatic conventions of the popular and sophisticated drama of classical and medieval India were traceable to the same source--Bharata's *Nātyaśāstra*. In modern times, however, popular drama and sophisticated drama have moved far apart, and there is the real danger of the traditional popular drama becoming extinct. This development is directly related to the creation of new 'classes' and to the gradual polarization of the rural and the urban centers of living.

Because of the competition of the cinema, the theatrical companies have either gone out of business or have had a very precarious existence. These companies had a tradition of their own, and modern drama has developed either in ignorance or in defiance of these traditions. The new drama has had to depend upon amateur groups and college dramatic societies and has therefore had an urban public. The influences of Moliere, Ibsen and Shaw have been considerable on the modern Indian dramatists. They exploited the contradictions in Indian society, and their very ability to look at Indian society satirically is closely connected with the changing sensibilities. The dramatists focused attention on social evils; as a consequence many of their plays became dated very soon. In some parts of India dialect diversity confined the appeal of these plays to certain dialect regions only, since unlike the older popular drama the new drama used spoken forms of speech.

The regional stations of the All India Radio have patronized the kind of drama that has an immediate appeal. Quite often they broadcast crudely propagandistic plays and have rarely been receptive to new and experimental plays. These experimental plays are produced very rarely, and the spectators of such plays do not represent a cross section of the community. Since the modern Indian dramatist can no longer hope to appeal to all the sections of the community, the emergence of a live theater is dependent upon the emergence of groups of people who value drama as an art form.[29]

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[28] Some of these 'modernist poets are: Vinda Karandīkar, Mardēkar and Dilīp Chitre from Maharashtra; Niranjan Bhagat, Hasmukh Pāṭhak, Ghulām Muhammad Sheik, Lābh Shankar Ṭhakkar, Śrīkānt Shāh and Surēsh Jōshi from Gujarat; Sudhīn Dutt, Jibanānand Dās and others from Bengal; and Gōpāla Krishṇa Aḍiga from Mysore. The Bengali journal *Kavitā* published some years ago English translations of some of the modern poems from Bengali. Some of the poems of Gopala Krishna Adiga have been translated into English by M. G. Krishnamurthi and A. K. Ramanujan. See Nissim Ezekiel (ed.), *Poetry India*, Bombay: The Retreat, Bellasis Road, I, 3 (1966), pp. 13-28. *Poetry India* publishes translations from Indian languages.

Criticism

The differences between traditional and modern India are perhaps more startling in the field of literary criticism than in that of creative literature. Traditional rhetoricians, even when they disagreed among themselves, had a common frame of reference. They were agreed that *rasa* (generalized sentiment) was the essence of good literature. The ideal critic was the ideal reader and the ideal reader's and the poet's equipment was to be the same. Because literature was addressed to the ideal reader (*sahṛdaya*) there was perhaps not much need for an explanatory kind of criticism. Literary criticism in the past was largely technical, and this preoccupation with technique perhaps accounts for some of the scholastic excesses like the cataloging of the number of *rasas* and *alaṁkāras* (figures of speech).

Since literary criticism is dependent upon creative literature, critical methodology has to change as literature changes. Unfortunately the Sanskrit scholars well-versed in Sanskrit poetics did not take sufficient interest in contemporary literature; hence the usefulness of Sanskrit poetics in modern Indian literature has never been investigated. Further, the gradual changes in the 'intent' and 'function' of literature demanded a new methodology. The main 'alien' influence on modern Indian literary criticism has been British, and since the British critics usually distrust theory, the Indian critic's knowledge of British critical practice has not helped him in evolving a methodology of criticism based either on the Indian classical theories of criticism or on modern Western literary theory. Besides, the poets and critics of the early decades of this century accepted the Romantic theory of inspiation, and criticism soon came to mean an attempt to communicate one's enthusiam for a particular author or a particular work. Very few of the critics had the necessary intransigence to assess individual writers dispassionately. Quite often the critics and the writers knew one another, and many critics were unwilling to be unpleasnt to their friends and acquaintances. Sometimes the critics felt that it was their duty to encourage creative artists and so were unwilling to 'place' a writer or a work of art. The nature of the relationship between literature and society was not defined and the socially committed critic tended to praise certain writers for their intentions. (This is particularly true of the Marxist and the semi-Marxist critics.) The book review sections of the newspapers had very little to offer to the interested reading public. The academic journals usually confined themselves to 'safe' areas like philology and textual problems. As a result one can safely assert that the Indian critics failed to meet the challenge of contemporary Indian literature.

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[29] Some of the prominent Indian playwrights are: Shambhu Mitra whose thater group Bahurūpi presented good adaptations of Ibsen. Tagore himself wrote 'Symblic plays' that are, however, more allegorical than symbolic. These plays suggested the possibility of 'non-realistic' drama, but this kind of drama was not developed. Some of the experimental playwrights are: P. L. Deshpāṇḍe whose Marathi play BaṭāṭaCā Chāl dramatizes a few hours in the life of a group of people; Khanālkar and Ādya Rangāchārya whose recent plays in Kannada mark a departure from earlier 'social' plays. There are, of course, some others who have written interesting experimental plays.

The modernists posed a challenge to criticism also. Since it was impossible to talk about the 'contents' of their poems, stories or novels, the critic had to try to evolve new approaches. The British and American New Critics have been influential, and attempts at close reading of texts are being made in different parts of India. Perhaps out of their attempts new conceptions of the literary tradition in Indian languages will emerge.[30]

Indian Writing in English

The phenomenon of a fairly large number of people writing in a language that is foreign to most of their countrymen is comparatively recent in India. Any descriptive title one chooses for Indian writing in English suggests distinctions between Indian writing in English and (1) Literature in Indian languages and (2) English literature proper. These distinctions, however, cannot be used as criteria of literary judgment. Unless we have a conception of a particular literary tradition, it is extremely difficult to assess the achievements of individual writers. But Indian writing in English is a comparatively new phenomenon. Since most of what was written by Indians in English during the 19th century has only an historical significance, one cannot speak of a tradition of Indian writing in English.

The major problems that an Indian writing in English has to face are: (1) audience, (2) idiom, and (3) communicating the nuances of a sensibility through a second language. The potential reading public of an Indian writer in English is scattered and includes people belonging to different cultures. So the Indian writer in English, particularly the fiction writer, cannot assume a knowledge of a cultural complex of which his art is ultimately a product. He has to provide certain kinds of information to his reader that his counterpart in an Indian language need not provide. This is perhaps why quite a number of novels written by Indians in English read like travelers' guidebooks. Sometimes the writer confines himself to areas of experience that can be communicated to the reading public without much difficulty.

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[30] The little magazines often publish 'new' criticism. Some of these magazines are manifestos of new writers.

The problem of idiom is more complicated than the problem of audience. English, as a language, developed in a cultural complex different from the Indian. Raja Rao, who is more aware of his problem than many other Indian writers in English, wrote in his foreword to his first novel Kanthapura,

> The telling has not been easy. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language....[31]

He felt, then, that the Indian writer in English should use an idiom that will ultimately become a 'dialect' of English, as distinct from British English as the American and the Australian uses of the language are. However, the Indian situation is very different from the American and the Australian since English has never been and will perhaps never be the first language of a large number of Indians. The sensibility of the majority of Indians will continue to express itself through the Indian languages; hence the Indian writer in English who aims at something more than a purely 'lyrical' expression will have to evolve an idiom that can 'translate' the nuances of the 'Indian' sensibility. Many Indian writers in English seem to feel that by simply maltreating English and by using words and phrases from Indian languages they can communicate the 'Indianness' of their sensibility. Raja Rao is perhaps the only Indian writer in English who has been able to use the English language to communicate a sensibility that is alien to English.

The need to communicate the nuances of a sensibility through a second language is perhaps the biggest problem the Indian writer in English has to face. Probably by choosing to write in English the Indian writer is also choosing his subject and a technique. The very fact that the Indian writer in English has not been able to write a good 'realistic' novel seems to suggest the nature of the problem. A 'realistic' novel uses dialogue and the language of the dialogue has to have a closer relationship to the spoken idiom than the language of narration. One possible solution to the problems that the Indian writer in English faces is the creation of a new form of fiction with a more oblique relation to 'reality' than traditional fiction has. The writer of such 'non-realistic' fiction has a considerable degree of freedom in his use of language. Possibly the two best known Indian writers in English, R. K. Narayan and Raja Rao, achieve their successes when they subvert the normal function of language--the communication of progression. Narayan's neutral style focuses attention on type situations and stereotypes, and his novels achieve their limited success only when they exploit the commonplaces of Hindu culture. Raja Rao succeeds by destroying the ordinary notions of time and logical progression; in this sense he has been trying to evolve a kind of fiction that would resemble some of the epics of India. In any case, no Indian writer in English can hope to succeed unless he solves the special problems inherent in writing in a second language.

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[31] New York: New Directions, 1963, p. vii. Kanthapura was first published in 1937.

Very little can be said about Indian poetry in English. A great deal of verse written in English by Indians during the 19th century is imitative and undistinguished. Though tall claims have been made on behalf of 'poets' like Toru Dutt, Michael Madusudan Dutt, Sarojini Naidu and Sri Aurobindo, no attempts have been made to establish the critical significance of these writers. Really competent verse is written by the more recent and fortunately less 'ambitious' poets of whom Nissim Ezekiel, Parthasarathy and A. K. Ramanujan are the most fascinating. The Writers' Workshop at Calcutta publishes poems written by Indians in English. Most of these poets have consciously or unconsciously reacted against the looseness of structure and the uncreative use of English that are characteristic of a great deal of verse written by Indians in English during the 19th century and the early decades of this century. However, Raja Rao continues to be the most impressive Indian writer in English.[32]

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[32] K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar's Indian Writing in English, New York: Asia Publishing House, 1962, is useful from a bibliographical point of view.

CHAPTER X

LANGUAGE IDENTITY:
AN INTRODUCTION TO INDIA'S LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

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India's destiny for this century has fixed her in the role of a developing nation, with all the usual problems of achieving national unification that are associated with this status on the world scene.[1] We will be particularly concerned here with the implications, for the unification of India, of her age-old linguistic diversity--that is her problem of encompassing within the borders of a single parliamentary democracy no less than 15 major languages (including English) and approximately 750 minor ones. Of the 15 major languages, 14 (including Sanskrit, a dead language) are currently recognized for official purposes under the Constitution of India: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu.

Against the increasing need of a modernizing India for a unified structure for political and social communication, this country's major language communities have increasingly thrown up competing claims for equal treatment based on the separate language label. Thus the language problem, which has grown up since Indian Independence in 1947, is a part of, and also a symbol of, the total problem of factionalism in Indian social and political life. Language came to prominence as a political issue in 1920, when the Congress Party, in its search for popular vehicles by which to evict British rulers, organized itself by language group rather than by the administrative provinces of the then British India. After Independence, Congress leaders at the center, and in particular Nehru, would have liked to reorganize in the interests of national unity. But India's fate was to be otherwise. The language issue was reopened with the formation of the Telugu-speaking linguistic state of Andhra in 1952, and, since then, ten other linguistic states have appeared on the Indian scene. The issue has continued to be a lively one in India's political process, and was one of the three underlying issues of national significance in the fourth General Election of February, 1967, even though it was not the object of open campaigning except in Madras where the DMK Party's slogan was 'anti-Hindi or against imposition of Hindi.'[2]

The fundamental reason the language issue remains lively is that it is closely bound into the family and caste fabric of Indian society. The same is true of a second issue in the 1967 elections, that of cow-protection--i.e., the question of whether the government should remain secular or begin to impose Hindu customs on the entire population. Let us examine for a moment some of the major features of that society.

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[1] For comparisons, see K. W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2nd ed., 1966.

[2] Times of India, February 11, 1967, p. 6.

In his new book, *Social Change in Modern India*,[3] Professor M. N. Srinivas, one of India's leading sociologists, points out that at local, and often also at regional, levels of Indian society, one finds a key group which he calls the 'dominant caste.' The position of such a group in a rural area rests on owning a large percentage of the arable land and on having a relatively respectable status in the local occupational and ritual rank-orders of social eminence. This group behaves in such a way as to perpetuate, by word and deed, the two tendencies of the caste system: acceptance of the inevitability of multiple cultures and life-styles of status-differentiated groups (and individuals) within the locality, and imitation by all of those groups, or castes, of other groups relatively higher in the hierarchy. Regarding the emulation hierarchy, Srinivas has noted that the reference groups for imitation shift, the higher one's position on the social ladder, from groups which display a more localized style of life to groups which display a more widely common style of life. Socially and politically, then, castes higher in the social ranking have greater 'horizontal solidarity' or 'regional unity.' The widening of social horizons at upper ranks, which includes a deepening of historical perspective about one's social habits, Srinivas has termed 'Sanskritization.' Reference groups for a local caste are sometimes ideal rather than real groups, such as the 'puritan' brāhmaṇ model of the post-Vedic Sanskrit literature, or the more localized kṣatriya (warrior) and vaiśya (businessman) models of both the post-Vedic literature and also local histories. Sanskritization may be purposive, a means consciously adopted by a group to enhance its general status through claiming symbols of respectability and rank, or, it may be a way of legitimizing a shift by a group which has attained wealth by work or windfall and perhaps unconsciously wishes to adjust its secular and ritual rank upward, to accord. Often, at the individual or small-group level, it amounts to a kind of automatic personal interest, and/or desire for inclusion, in what another person or group, covertly recognized as superior in status, is doing. In this way, by a process not wholly understood analytically, caste social hierarchies continuously generate, or emphasize, symbolic differences in behavior of all kinds including language behavior. Crudely put, both the high-status caste persons and the lower-status caste persons are psychologically 'rewarded' by attending to relatively minor differences in language, religion, social practices, and so on. Such differences are institutionally displayed as symbolic bases of social groupings at certain key events--e.g., marriages, elections, riots--and they are 'fated' to persist.[4]

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[3] Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1966.

[4] See Srinivas' chapters 1 and 3.

Thus a social emphasis on multilingualism and multiculturalism is part of the caste 'package deal.' Another part is interest in the persons (charisma) of leaders. Another is a certain tendency to factionalism, which stems partly from the fact that cultural and caste symbols--'political credentials,' as it were--are more important than goal-performance in the popular reaction to activities of traditional leaders.[5] Finally, political factionalism intermeshes with the caste social system--the circle is closed--due to the localism of caste, and its dependence on particular, local, elite family groups that are mainly interested in controlling real estate.

The continuing importance of localism and particularism is indicated by the participation of over two hundred candidates from former princely families in the 1967 election--twenty years after Indian Independence and the removal of these families from government. It is indicated also in the shape of election issues as these presented themselves to the average, illiterate, Indian voter. According to the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*:[6]

> The election campaign has been singularly lacking in issues. It seems there are no all-India issues, only all-India grievances such as high prices and low wages....election is being fought over the most trivial municipal issues...where it is not being decided by such considerations as caste and community.

Clues as to how elections are actually run, in the absence of clear-fought issues, are found in the following extract from a *Statesman* article entitled "Elections Have Been A Mixed Blessing So Far":[7]

> For their support in the country, leaders depend largely on personal pockets of influence and power wielded by 'patrons' and 'link men' of various sorts--ranging all the way from modern 'professionals' to caste and sub-caste 'influentials'--and less on party identifications and political loyalties.
>
> The factional structure, which is the key to the developing party system in India, finds its local base in these pockets of influence which on the one hand lay out the necessary linkages for mobilizing political support, but on the other lend a disproportionate weight to individuals and networks of 'influence' that operate beyond the formal organization of political parties.

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[5] See W. McCormack, "Mysore Village Leadership," R. Park and I. Tinker (eds.), *Leadership and Political Institutions in India*, Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1959.

[6] February 16, 1967.

[7] December 16, 1966.

> This interrupts political organization and makes it inchoate, shifting and unpredictable. It has led to considerable disorganization, has broken the confidence of traditional elites, has given to the 'new elite' which mans the local bodies a very precarious basis, and has led to a dissolution of collective identities which are so crucial to discipline and order in political organization.

A similar tack is taken by other observers of India's political scene, when they point to the dominance of a 'national lottery' game played by the various states and localities. These compete for developmental grants from the central government in Delhi, which, when released, are little safeguarded from diversion to other purposes due to elements of administrative and political confusion at state and local levels.[8] According to Welles Hangen, famine relief funds and food were recently diverted in Bihar.[9]

In the absence of election issues, the assignment of persons to candidacy also becomes something of a game. The Statesman of Calcutta,[10] in an account headed 'Pre-election Paralysis in the Capital: Scramble for Tickets But No Campaign Plan,' shows that this game is not without personal rewards for leaders of the dominant Congress Party:

> By far the worst feature of the selection [of candidates from among petitioners who have come to Delhi to secure a nomination] is that ...Almost every Central leader is trying to manage the selection in such a way as to maximize his or her own chances after the election ...therefore...most of the C[entral] E[lection] C[ommittee] members are busy trying to checkmate each other, rather than to make sure that the party gets the best candidates.

J. Anthony Lukas makes a similar observation in a feature article on the Indian elections called 'The 'Gandhi Caps' Are In Trouble in India:'[11]

> Factionalism has become particularly intense this year in the dispute over party nominations and in several states disappointed factions have left the party in frustration to form rival Congresses. However, these dissident groups are not so much opposition parties as weapons with which to dislodge the dominant factions and gain power within the party.

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[8] See M. Weiner, The Politics of Scarcity, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

[9] NBC-TV report on the Bihar famine, week of Dec. 11-17, 1966.

[10] December 9, 1966.

[11] New York Times Magazine, February 19, 1967.

How the formation of pseudo-oppositions ultimately ends in coalition and in positions of importance in the Congress Party for opposition leaders is elucidated by the British social anthropologist F. G. Bailey.[12] His following statement affords a base for a more general model of pseudo-opposition in Indian politics:

> ...The 1952 election [in Orissa] showed that at least some of the traditional leaders [rentier class] could win seats as Independents against Congress candidates. By 1956, with the danger of an outright G. P. [party of opposition in Orissa, led by rentiers] victory, Congress leaders healed the breach between themselves and the rentier class (this in spite of the very strong socialist element in Congress policy statements) and important individuals in the rentier class were given Congress tickets, duly won their seats, and in some cases were given [ministerial] office.[13]

Moreover, under these conditions the interpretation of the meaning of an election becomes something of a game, too. Thus in Hindi-speaking Uttar Pradesh, one of eight states where Congress lost its majority in the state legislature in the 1967 elections,[14] a Congress-led state government materialized nonetheless, with Congress winning back some of the 20 successful Independents who once belonged to Congress but left that party before the election, for factional reasons.

Caste and linguistic or religious communalism are not wholly divisive, for, as Professor Srinivas points out: 'The institution of caste provides a common cultural idiom to Indians....'[15] Status-indicating rituals similarly provide a common idiom to Kachin and Shan tribals and peasants over a large tract of northern Burma.[16] It is worth noting, too, the subtlety of Professor Srinivas' point, as he is not put off by the common stance among Indians that post-Independence legislation 'abolished' caste. Rather, he sees the opponents and the proponents (or at least those content with the status quo) of caste as communicating with each other through the cultural system of shared understandings about caste. These include a formal etiquette of employing caste symbols to indicate the immutable status classification of parties to almost any social interaction, and a supreme valuation on proper 'credentials' for almost any human activity. To give just one example of typical sociodramas which surprise no one, a subordinate who strikes out independently on a task, such as writing a scientific publication, is checked by his 'senior' who regards the unsupervised activity as inevitably 'political' and damaging to his own interests. A subordinate, then, is paralyzed from risking initiative.[17]

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[12] "Politics and Society in Contemporary Orissa," C.H. Philips (ed.), Politics and Society in India, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1963, and Politics and Social Change: Orissa in 1959, Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1964.

[13] "Politics and Society in Contemporary Orissa," op. cit., p. 99.

[14] New York Times, February 26, 1967.

[15] See his article "The Nature of the Problem of Indian Unity," Economic Weekly, 1958.

[16] See E. R. Leach, Political Systems of Highland Burma, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Press, 1954, and for comparison, C. Lévi-Strauss, Totemism, R. Needham (transl.), Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.

The persistence of a caste organization and idiom finds contemporary expression also in Indian cities. Thus N. K. Bose, an Indian cultural geographer, anthropologist, and biographer of Gandhi, has shown for Calcutta an association between residential areas or ghettoes, and caste, language group, and a specifiable range of urban occupations:

> The map of Calcutta shows a highly differentiated texture. Ethnic groups tend to cluster together in their own quarters. They are distinguished from one another not only by language and culture but also by broad [i.e., associated with a particular language group is a particular range of occupations] differences in the way they make their living....It can be said, therefore, that the diverse ethnic groups in the population of the city have come to bear the same relation to one another as do the castes of India.[18]

Calcutta, of course, was founded by the British East India Company, and until 1911 was the capital of British India. But it is like all other Indian cities in being socioculturally continuous with the caste-based value system of the country as a whole. As Robert Redfield and Milton Singer have said:

> In India 'sacred geography' has also played an important part in determining the location and layout of villages and cities and in this way has created a cultural continuity between countryside and urban centers.... every village and every city had a 'sacred center' [which] provides the forum, the vehicle, and the content for the formation of distinct cultural identities--of families, village, and city.[19]

In other words, it is an ancient and all-pervasive element of Indian culture for caste, family, and other social groupings to map out spatially in a sacred geography, or (Hindu) temple-like floor plan, and many Indians regard linguistic provinces as having sacred underpinnings and being imbued with moral and religious force.

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[17] 17. See dialogues, e.g., "Post Office," in W. McCormack and M. G. Krishnamurthi, *Kannada: A Cultural Introduction to the Spoken Styles of the Language,* Madison, Wis., and London: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1966.

[18] 18. *Scientific American,* September, 1965.

[19] 19. "The Cultural Role of Cities," *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* III, 1 (October, 1954), pp. 67-68.

The recent emergence of linguistic states--Andhra in 1952, ten others following the report of the States Reorganisation Commission in 1956, and the Hindi-speaking (religiously Hindu) state of Hariana which appeared in late 1966 after bifurcation of the state of Punjab which now remains a Punjabi-speaking (religiously Sikh) state--has in each case put a single dominant caste or sect in charge of the new state. This recalls the technique of 'gerrymandering' in American politics, and Mrs. Taya Zinkin, a proponent of linguistic states, takes a positive view of the technique as throwing out ensconced elites such as in the former Hyderabad State.[20] Other observers, such as Selig Harrison[21] and Rupert Emerson,[22] find cause for pessimism in the rapid multiplication of linguistic states in India since 1956. Emerson says:

> In the case of India, where the country is divided into provinces on the basis of the linguistic communities (a number of which have tens of millions speakers and can look back to established cultures and histories), it is by no means inconceivable that local nationalism might arise to challenge the solidarity of the Indian nation.[23]

As over against the analogy of 'gerrymandering,' then, we must recall the point made earlier that the caste social system makes for an emphasis on linguistic bases for social groupings or blocks of people--e.g., overseas Indians, in South Africa, East Africa, Mauritius, Trinidad, or Fiji, insist on linguistic separatism as part of their values and their need for self-identification. In many, perhaps all, of these contexts, linguistic separatism spells disadvantage for the Indians rather than the reverse, witness their expulsion from Burma some years ago, and the current exodus of Indian populations from Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda. Yet the built-in values of caste organization call for it, and governments get automatically involved, ex post facto, in according and interpreting the 'official' status of the separatist groups.[24]

Professor Srinivas has offered a politico-historical argument that linguism appeared in India in the recent past out of a need to reach and mobilize illiterate and politically indifferent populations:

> The intense language-awareness which India is experiencing is a by-product of her struggle to win freedom.... The partition of

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[20] See her Reporting India, London: Chatto & Windus, 1962.

[21] India: The Most Dangerous Decades, Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1960.

[22] "Nation-Building in Africa," K.W. Deutsch and W.J. Foltz (eds.), Nation-Building, New York: Atherton Press, 1963.

[23] op. cit., p. 114.

[24] M. N. Srinivas, Social Change in Modern India, p. 95.

> Bengal [In 1906] was resisted on the ground that it cut in two a single linguistic area.[25]

It is possible to argue, too, that modern Indian leaders may have psychological reasons for espousing a linguistic cause--reasons discussed by Lucian W. Pye for modern leaders in Burma:

> Although many citizens in transitional societies may be disturbed by the consequences of cultural diffusion and the need to adjust to the changing times, it is those intimately connected with power and politics who are the most disturbed over their own sense of identity. In part this is because their access to power leaves them peculiarly sensitive to the possibilities of advantage and disadvantage, being superior or inferior, honored or shamed, effective or ineffective. In part it is because they are the most deeply touched by the acculturation process, and they may have...been left disturbed by the knowledge that on the matters that really count they have been rationalizing rather than describing the realities of their society. Their ambivalences [reached] to the point where these men are consciously anxious about their own worth and unsure of their own identities.[26]

The language issue can provide an ideal source of reassurance for unsure leaders since these can take comfort from sharing with followers both a language and its cognitive orientation, and, in addition--if there is a sacred literature in the language--a set of moral principles which, if followed, would significantly 'reharmonize' the contemporary scene. In this sense, a candidate who stands for linguistic and cultural revivalism might compare, in America, with that 'favorite son' who substitutes 'moral purity' for lack of experience.

Still another possible interpretation of the current strength of language separatism would be a cyclical historical one, according to which a postcolonial nationalistic swing to unity in India may now be reversing toward the earlier sectionalism. Such sectionalism has been normal in Southeast Asia and has been regularly subject to historical pressures.

> Because language has often become the prime symbol of group identity for the people of Southeast Asia, difficulties arise for

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[25] *op. cit.*, p. 571.

[26] *Politics, Personality, and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity*, New Haven, Conn.: Yale U. Press, 1962, p. 53.

> anyone who would try to infer history from language distribution. When people have wanted to assert their individuality, they have, like the Irish and Israelis, seized upon a unique language and made it the sign of their separation. In the course of the centuries, as political fortunes and popular aspirations have waxed and waned, people seem to have repeatedly shifted their language affiliation in defiance of stability or historical purity. The complex distribution of languages must be understood partly in these terms. Because the historical pressures in the plains have been toward unity and homogeneity, the plains areas have relatively few and widespread languages. Because the historical pressures in the hills have encouraged separatism, the hills harbor most of the many hundreds of Southeast Asian languages.[27]

In South Asia as well, people wanting to assert their individuality made language the sign of their separation, but Indian history had thrown up a single referent against which the peoples speaking some of the major Indian languages all acted to differentiate themselves. This all-India referent was a dominant Hindu priestly hierarchy based on recruitment exclusively from brāhmaṇ castes and culturally linked with Sanskrit as the language of sacred texts. Whenever castes, or religious sects such as Buddhists, Jains, or Sikhs, moved to achieve a separate identity, they characteristically did two things. For brāhmaṇ priests, they substituted religious specialists recruited from non-Brahmin castes. For Sanskrit and Sanskrit literary style as the vehicle of sacred writing, they founded literary styles of their own regional languages and often used scripts of their own as well--although these shared with Sanskrit an ultimate derivation from a common Indic alphabetic system of writing. Such castes and sects gave India a sectional look until the twentieth century, when sectionalism was temporarily overridden by a nationalistic interest in evicting British rulers.

A notable if complicated example of the way religion, politics, and language separatism are intimately interconnected in India is afforded by the Muslims of South Asia. There are many specific similarities in the religious behavior of Indian Muslims and Hindus, e.g., the caste and kin basis for arranging marriages, commensalism, reverence for certain deities, and so on. Such similarities may arise from the fact that a major portion of India's Muslims are descendents of Hindu converts to Islam, such that family customs have remained 'Hindu' in many respects. Explanation is difficult, since against this conversion hypothesis is the fact that the Muslims who claim descent from foreigners, the Ashrāf, are more likely to practice caste endogamy than are members of the Hindu-derived lower-status Muslim castes. In general, though, the differences between Muslim and Hindu castes lie at a fairly high level, where Islam is seen to reject pan-Hindu elements such as employing brāhmaṇ priests. Thus in Uttar Pradesh, where Muslims like Hindus reckon sweepers (bhangīs) and leather-workers (camārs) to be at the bottom of the social hierarchy, the Muslims render to their status a kind of 'Islamic translation.' That is, they prohibit the ritually unclean bhangīs and camārs from entering mosques, and though members of these castes may learn the Qur'ān, they are strictly forbidden to teach it.[28] It is against this background that Indian Muslim and Hindu leaders in the pre-Partition independence movement symbolized their differences in an argument about Urdu versus Hindi for a national language. In fact, as a spoken style, Urdu and Hindi are rarely distinguishable for speakers from the same locality, except that an educated Urdu speaker distinguishes the initial sound of the type 'zip' versus 'gyp,' while to the Hindi speaker the 'z' and the 'g' sound absolutely the same.[29] Rather, the main difference between Urdu and Hindi arises at a higher stylistic level: the Hindu begins to borrow prestigious spellings from the Sanskrit ritual vocabulary, and the Muslim uses a learned vocabulary derived from Persian and Arabic, and this produces Hindi and Urdu, respectively. This difference is reinforced by the use of Devanagari script for Hindi as for Sanskrit, and the use of the Perso-Arabic script for Urdu.

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[27] R. Burling, Hill Farms and Padi Fields, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965, p. 167.

Prior to this argument between Hindu and Muslim leaders, however, the British Government in India had already acted to separate the two peoples in one region of India, and did so along implicitly religio-cultural lines. According to Professor Tinker:

> British officials made no attempt to conceal that an important consequence of the change was to give the Muslims of Bengal a province /East Bengal/ where they would be dominant: in many ways the scheme was a forerunner of the concept of Pakistan.[30]

Professor Tinker further comments on the whirlwind still being reaped in India, and in Burma, Ceylon, and Pakistan, from the interrelation of religion, politics, and language:

> Religion, accepted since the nineteenth century as the keynote of politics, was an ever-effective rallying-cry. In all four countries, the dominant religion was invoked by political leaders, usually of reactionary outlook, to inflame the masses.... Thus, in India, some State governments, in conformity with upper-caste Hindu practice,

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[28] G. Ansari, "Muslim Caste in Uttar Pradesh: A Study of Culture Contact," Eastern Anthropologist, XIII, 2 (1959-1960), pp. 50-51.

[29] S.K. Chatterji, Languages and the Linguistic Problem (Oxford Pamphlets on Indian Affairs No. 11), London: Oxford U. Press, 1945, pp. 19-20.

[30] Hugh Tinker, South Asia: A Short History, New York and London: F.A. Praeger, 1966, p. 193.

> prohibited cow slaughter, despite the herds of unproductive cattle, and enforced prohibition. In Pakistan there were outbreaks of Islamic intolerance against non-Islamic minorities, while in Ceylon Buddhist zealots restricted the privileges enjoyed by Christian mission schools and put pressure on the Tamil Hindu minority. But the greatest rallying point for popular prejudice has been language. In each country there was pressure to get rid of English, the language of the Imperial past.... Burmese was the easiest...the mother tongue of about two-thirds of the population [of Burma].... Sinhalese is also the mother tongue of the population of Ceylon, but...the Tamil minority proved intransigent...and the Tamils launched a militant campaign against Sinhalese, obliterating its script wherever it appeared in the Tamil districts.... When Pakistan was born, many of the leaders who migrated from UP and other parts of India regarded the restoration of their Persian-Urdu culture as being almost as vital to the new Pakistan as the sustenance of Islam....but East Pakistan (East Bengal) rose up in defense of Bengali.... Eventually, Bengali was given parity alongside Urdu: but for most purposes English continued to be used in higher administration and politics.[31]

The emotionality of the tie between language and personal self-definition in South Asia is quite directly understandable by analogies from American and European cultures.[32] One has but to consider, for example, how language 'argots' define teen-agers as an age category--or how, within this category, they define in-groups such as 'mods,' 'hipsters,' 'rocks,' and so on. In the same way, we link cultural stereotypes of countless kinds to our language-typing of blocks of people, ascribing sets of customs and habits to these blocks (e.g., French or Russian or Southern styles of cooking) according to their language tags. We do not speak of Netherlands polders, but rather, by language tag, of 'Dutch' polders.

What is less understandable from our perspective, however, is the importance attached in India to the *legal status* of a language, and the felt need to protect the *language rights* of minorities. Here we must understand that Indians are temporally and emotionally closer to their Constitution of 1950 than we in the United States are to our Constitution of 1787. As we saw in the first paragraph of this paper, the legal status of India's 14 major languages is enshrined in the Constitution of that country. Moreover, in the experience of most Indians, each of these languages is represented --apart from that state where its speakers form a majority--by additional islands of speakers, embedded among, and surrounded by, some other majority language. Thus

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31. *op. cit.*, pp. 253-254.
32. For cultural analogies generally, see C. Lévi-Strauss, *op. cit.*

language allegiance readily translates conceptually into minority rights, which also are constitutionally guaranteed. Indians regard Article 30 of the Constitution as the cornerstone of language rights, and as guaranteeing to any section of citizens the right to conserve its distinct language, script, and culture, such that the State shall not discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is managed by a minority group, as defined by religion or language. Constitutional amendments have since strengthened this cornerstone. Article 350A, added by the States Reorganization Acts of 1956, spelled out the objective that every child should be taught in his mother tongue. Article 350B established the post of a central government commissioner for the protection of linguistic minorities, and the commissioner's annual report, which consists of grievances registered by linguistic minorities throughout India, is published and received with gravity by the Indian government.

In a sense, all Indian languages are minority languages. Even Hindi, which is the legally designated national language, is officially spoken by only 133.4 millions of India's total 1961 population of 439.2 millions. Only four other languages are spoken by more than 25 million persons (i.e., Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, and Telugu), and of these four, only Marathi is written in the same script as Hindi. All 14 of the official languages have discrete bodies of classic literature, and the Constitution guarantees protection to all of them. In this connection, it should be noted that for some of the 14 languages--e.g., Hindi, which according to the 1961 Census of India contains nearly a hundred dialects--the existence of a discrete body of literature may play an important role in a speaker's identification with that language rather than with some other. The situation is analogous to border dialects of French and Italian in Europe: 'All the idiolects [personal language habits] of what are ordinarily called 'French' or 'Italian' belong to a single L-complex',[33] but some speakers identify themselves as speaking 'French' or 'Italian' out of loyalty to one or the other spelling system and literary tradition.

In India, after the Congress Party organized itself according to linguistic provinces in 1920, new folk myths about the value of linguistic distinctiveness arose, and factional recruitment took place on the bases of such myths. Factions recruited in such a way have proved extremely self-centered, and ripe for an egocentric competition that is destructive of national development. At the same time, the members of such factions do not necessarily display the language loyalty that linguistic factionalism would seem to require. In practice, it is perhaps chiefly Bengalis who tend to use their mother tongue, whenever possible, to the exclusion of such languages as Hindi or English. It is generally possible to concoct arguments to support Indian ideals of linguistic separatism. For example, one might adduce the traditional Indian grammarian's view that names, which have meanings that depend on the conventions of particular communities, provide an idealistic metaphysical kernel for development of substance-things (a kind of 'reputational analysis' of matter). But then Indian classic learning can be drawn on for a counter-argument supporting linguistic unity, as, for example, the Mīmāṃsā philosophers' position that Sanskrit alone contained the injunctive formal base for obligatory actions.[34] In the end, such arguments seem to have little effect on factions, for example witness that though the Sikhs achieved the bifurcation of the Punjab state in late 1966, certain Sikh leaders are still agitating to have the Chandigarh area. This example is cited because it is recent. Many others might be cited.

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[33] C. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics, New York: Macmillan, 1958, p. 324.

Severe factionalism was apparently anticipated by the leaders of India who were faced with maintaining post-Independence unity, for both the Linguistic Provinces (Dar) Commission of 1948, and the JVP Report (so-called from the first-name initials of its members, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, and Pattabhi Sitaramayya), warned that the old Congress emphasis on linguistic provinces could be extended to the formation of linguistic states only after careful consideration of each case. Caution was observed by few, however. Telugu-speakers, who had the longest history of separatist agitation on the basis of language identity, won their point with the formation of Andhra State in 1952. The States Reorganisation Commission opened the floodgates wider with its report in 1956, until now 11 of India's 16 states (excluding Nagaland) have been formed on the basis of linguistic majorities. These are: Kerala (Malayalam), Madras (Tamil), Mysore (Kannada), Andhra (Telugu), Orissa (Oriya), Maharashtra (Marathi), Gujarat (Gujarati), West Bengal (Bengali), Assam (Assamese), Punjab (Puñjabi), and Hariana (Hindi). The only ones of India's 14 constitutionally recognized major languages which have not been adduced as basis for the formation of a linguistic state are Kashmiri, Sanskrit, and Urdu.

Bitterness has colored the emergence of some of the linguistic states. The States Reorganisation Commission held to the principle that there could be more than one language group defining a state, and so it created a bilingual (Marathi/Gujarati) Bombay State. However, Marathi-speakers rioted in Bombay City in 1956, until a separate Maharashtra State was conceded.[35] At the same time, the rest of Bombay State became Gujarat State. Bombay City was for some years a bone of contention between Maharashtra and Gujarat, to the point where the Indian Government considered a plan for according it an independent city-state existence. The city was finally assigned to Maharashtra in 1960, but not without protest riots in Gujarat. In 1956, Parliament, under pressure from Prime Minister Nehru, created five zonal councils which were empowered to discuss any matter of common interest to member states, and specifically matters concerning border disputes and linguistic minorities.

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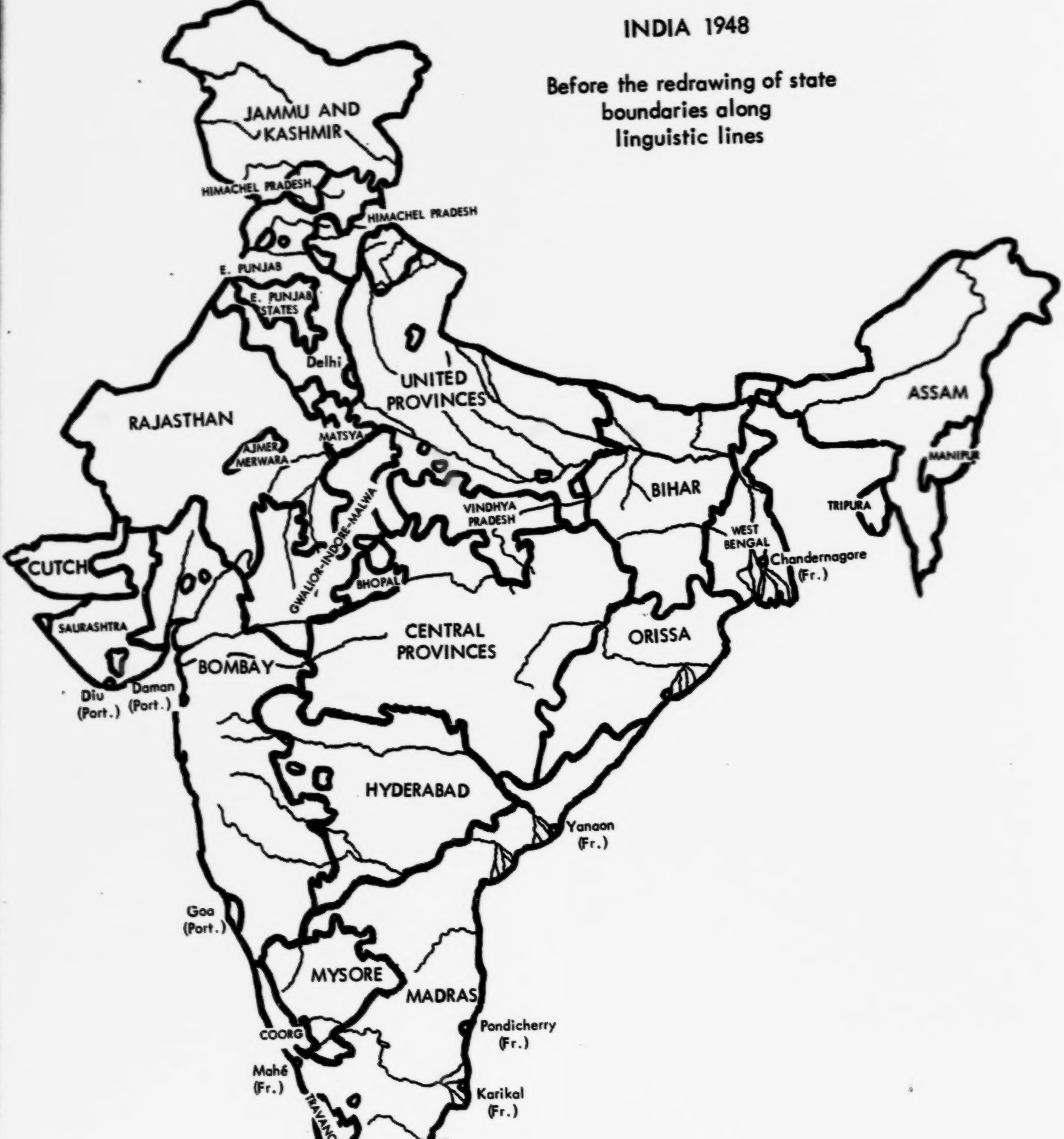
34. F. Edgerton, "Some Linguistic Notes in the Mimamsa System," Language, III (1927), pp. 171-177.

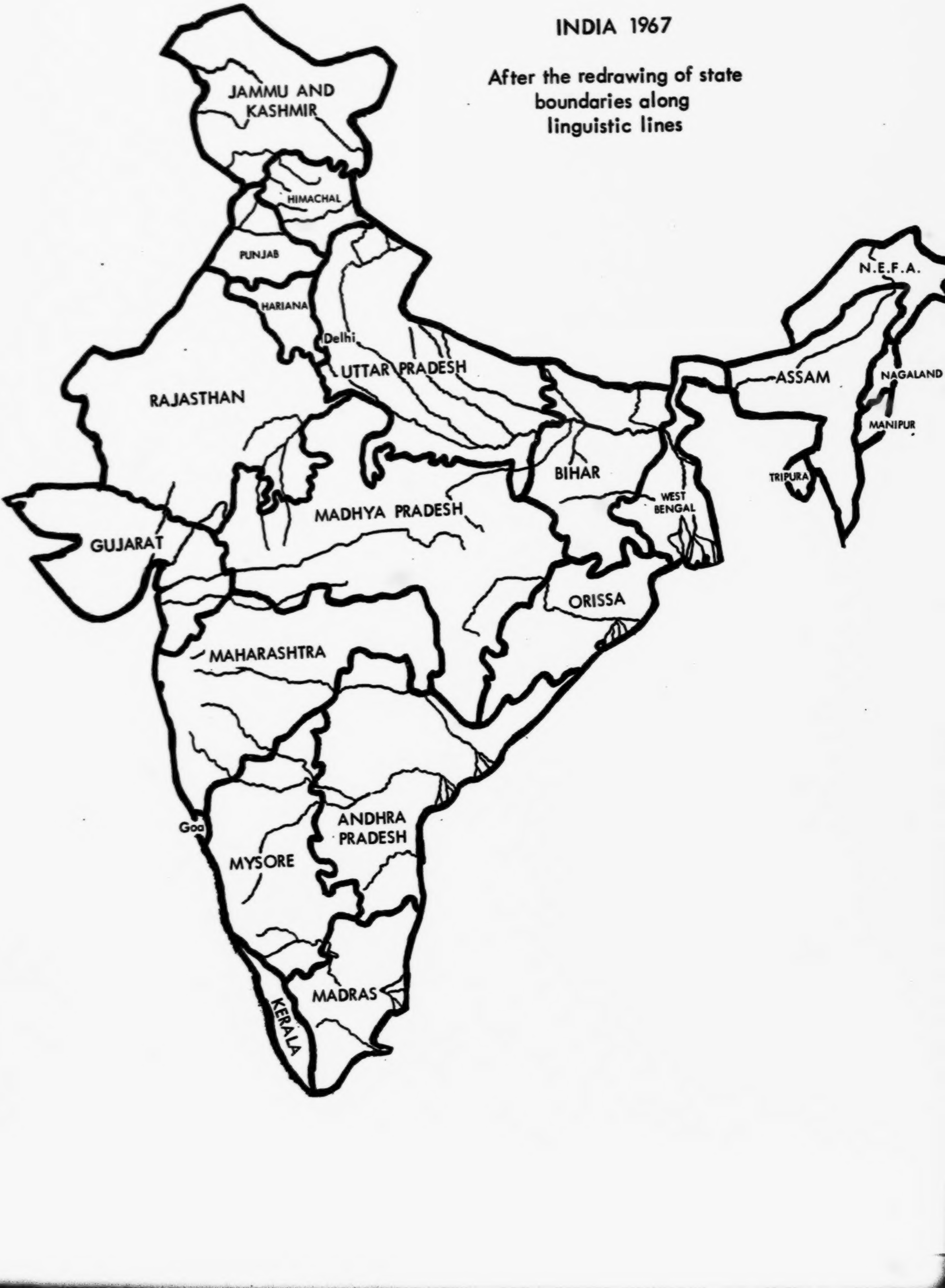
35. See Taya Zinkin, op. cit., for a description of the riots.



INDIA 1948

Before the redrawing of state boundaries along linguistic lines

JAMMU AND KASHMIR
HIMACHEL PRADESH
HIMACHEL PRADESH
E. PUNJAB
E. PUNJAB STATES
Delhi
UNITED PROVINCES
ASSAM
RAJASTHAN
MATSYA
AJMER MERWARA
MANIPUR
BIHAR
VINDHYA PRADESH
GWALIOR-INDORE-MALWA
TRIPURA
WEST BENGAL
Chandernagore (Fr.)
CUTCH
BHOPAL
SAURASHTRA
CENTRAL PROVINCES
ORISSA
BOMBAY
Diu (Port.)
Daman (Port.)
HYDERABAD
Yanaon (Fr.)
Goa (Port.)
MYSORE
MADRAS
COORG
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Mahé (Fr.)
Karikal (Fr.)
TRAVANCORE-COCHIN


JAMMU AND KASHMIR
HIMACHAL
PUNJAB
HARIANA
Delhi
RAJASTHAN
UTTAR PRADESH
N.E.F.A.
ASSAM
NAGALAND
MANIPUR
TRIPURA
BIHAR
WEST BENGAL
GUJARAT
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
MAHARASHTRA
Goa
ANDHRA PRADESH
MYSORE
MADRAS
KERALA

INDIA 1967

After the redrawing of state boundaries along linguistic lines

But no zonal council was active in the 1960 dispute over Bombay City. Nor has any been active in the boundary dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore--a dispute which covertly includes the future status of Goa, which has been under central government rule since it was annexed from Portugal. This latter, still unresolved, situation was described by Professor D. D. Karve of Poona University, for an audience at the University of California in 1960:

> One of the ad hoc decisions...was the inclusion of Belgaum city and some other parts of the Marathi-speaking area to the south of Bombay state into Mysore. These Marathi-speaking people have been forced to carry on their day-to-day business in a Kannada-speaking state and are discriminated against in various matters... they live on the border of Bombay and Mysore and...have to carry on a bitter agitation including a no-tax campaign....[36]

One of the more vexing problems that has confronted the several states of India is selection of an official language for use in state government administration. There is nothing in the Constitution of India to prevent a state from fixing its own official language, nor from requiring competence in that language as a qualification for employment in the state civil service. Thus the five Hindi-speaking states of Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, and Hariana are vigorously insisting on the use of Hindi in state administration, while the non-Hindi-speaking states of Kerala, Madras, Andhra, Mysore, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, and Punjab are moving in the direction of using their respective majority languages for official documents and in public education. There exists a legal safeguard against linguistic minorities suffering injustice from statewide imposition of a majority language, in that the President of India may direct that any of the 14 languages specified in the Constitution be recognized in part or all of a state. But the central government commissioner for the protection of linguistic minorities continues to publish an annual report made up of grievances. For example, one of the issues in the present Maharashtra-Mysore border dispute is an alleged absence of public-education facilities for Marathi-speaking children in Belgaum City.

It may have been British use of English as a unitary official language in British India that provided the model for specifying a single official state language in the first place. But the position of English itself as a continuing language of administration and governmental correspondence is constitutionally ambiguous. According to Sec. 343 of the Constitution of India:

> The official language of the [Indian] Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.... the English language shall continue to be

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36. "The Linguistic Problem in India," mimeog., February 8, 1960, p. 23.

> used for all official purposes of the Union [for a period of 15 years from the commencement of this Constitution]. Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of 15 years, of--(a) the English language...for such purposes as may be specified in the law.

So far, failing an Act of Parliament to the contrary, English continues to be specified as the language (Sect. 348):

> [of] (a) all proceedings in the Supreme Court and in every High Court, (b) the authoritative texts--(i) of all bills...(ii) of all Acts passed by Parliament or the Legislature of a State and of all Ordinances promulgated by the President or the Governor or Rajpramukh of a State, and (iii) of all orders, rules, regulations and by-laws under this Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of a State....

But, for example, while Supreme Court and High Court proceedings are in English, subordinate court proceedings have by long practice been carried on in the regional majority languages, and there are no constitutional guarantees that judicial proceedings at any level should be in the language of the plaintiff or respondent if it is different from the regional majority language. Rather, the Official Language Commission chaired by B. G. Kher recommended, in 1956, that when the time comes to supplant English, the Supreme Court should use Hindi alone, the state High Courts should use mainly Hindi but may also use the regional language, and subordinate courts should use the regional language. Recently, on February 5-6, 1967, the question of using Hindi in the courts was again explored by representatives from the Law Departments of the four Hindi-speaking states of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Rajasthan, sitting in conference with representatives of the Official Language Commission. A spokesman of the Madhya Pradesh Law Department said the discussions covered the drafting of laws, translating laws, and preparing legal terminology, in Hindi.[37]

A rundown of the practical steps that get taken when Hindi is made the official language of a state is provided in connection with Rajasthan by the following summary of an article which appeared on January 26, 1967 in Rāshtradūt (the major Hindi daily in Rajasthan):

> On January 26, 1965, the government of Rajasthan decided to make Hindi the state language of all government business by the end of January, 1968. To this end a language department was set up in 1965.

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[37] Statesman, Feb. 6, 1967.

> A look at the activities of the language department shows that Hindi is rapidly taking the place of English in the state. Equipment essential to the administration, like typewriters, have been changed to Hindi. 355 new Hindi typewriters have been supplied to the various departments to encourage the use of Hindi and 266 more are to be provided in the current year. Name plates and rubber stamps must also be in Hindi.
>
> After September 15, 1966, all government servants must sign their names in Hindi. Non-Hindi speaking officers have been given an extra six months time to sign in English, but they must at the same time sign below in Hindi. After this date all government orders must be printed in Hindi and there should be no need for English in the government's budget. Only certain constitutional and legal materials may be published in English.
>
> The Rajasthan government has also decided to correspond in Hindi with some states, such as Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, and Himachal Pradesh, and also with the central government. All government advertisements in Hindi newspapers are now published in Hindi.
>
> To facilitate this changeover, special training is being given in six centers in Rajasthan to clerks and typists. In the current year 131 typists and 132 clerks are taking part in this training.
>
> It was decided on March 23, 1966, that all letters and orders originating from the Secretariat should be in the Hindi language, and on September 22, 1966, the State Language Act of 1956 was amended to make the use of Hindi letters and keyboard in official correspondence legally acceptable.
>
> Translations of all rules and regulations in daily use have been authorized, such as service rules and finance rules. 2,000 pages of translation will be undertaken in the current year and 4,000 pages have been completed up to now.
>
> The inspection report of the Hindi Advisory Committe has announced that the progress so far in the changeover from English to Hindi in government business has been satisfactory.

Such plans to replace English as an official language have implicated a problem of replacing English as the medium of instruction in Indian universities and colleges. This problem, in turn, has implicated problems pertaining to college preparation. The way in which the chain of implication can give rise to problems when coordination is lacking has been exemplified by Professor D. D. Karve:

> In 1948, when Mr. Kher was the Chief Minister and also the Education Minister, the Bombay Government took a decision to abolish the 7-year teaching of English in high schools and allowed English to be taught

> only for four years and for a smaller number of periods per week. No other state did this and when in 1955 the first students came out from the high schools under this new curriculum, their knowledge of English was so poor that they found themselves in difficulties in the colleges. Also, they were greatly handicapped not only in the competitive examinations to Union and State [government] services, which still use English as the language of the examination and interview, but also in other fields like business, industry, etc.... The University of Poona in the Bombay State, when it was faced with this problem of the very inadequate knowledge of English among the freshmen, had perforce to (1) organize two sets of classes, one to be taught in the regional language and the other through English, and (2) allow the students to answer their examination papers either through English or through Marathi.[38]

The current guidelines governing all levels of education were laid down by the report of the Education (Kothari) Commission of August, 1966. For the level of higher education, this report recommended that the 14 constitutionally recognized languages be respectively accepted as the medium of instruction in the appropriate regional universities ' in a phased programme spread over ten years.' English would be retained as the medium of instruction in certain all-India institutes. However, one notes that graduates from the universities would then be handicapped upon entering one of the all-India institutes. Again, faculty members would be virtually limited to universities employing their own regional language. Of these, Hindi-speaking faculty members would of course enjoy the greatest range of choice. Finally, the guidelines penalize students belonging to linguistic minorities, such as the million and a quarter Sindhi speakers concentrated in Rajasthan, Gujarat, and Maharashtra states. Sindhi, which is ordinarily written in the Perso-Arabic and not the Devanagari script, would be excluded from higher education, unless a bill recently submitted to Parliament, to recognize Sindhi as a regional language, succeeds.

As for elementary and high school education, a three-language formula had already been variously in effect for some years at the time of the Kothari report, and the report adopted the principle but moved to rationalize practices by proposing the following blueprint program. It recommended that at the lower primary (i.e., grade school) stage, pupils should ordinarily study only one language, the mother tongue (or the regional language). At the higher primary (i.e., junior high) stage, they should study two languages, the mother tongue, and the official language of the Union (Hindi) or the associate official language of the Union (English). At the lower secondary (early high school) stage, they should study three languages, the mother tongue,

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38. *op. cit.*, p. 32.

the official or associate official language of the Union (whichever was not studied at the higher primary stage), and a recognized modern Indian language. At the higher secondary (late high school) stage, the curriculum would contain only two compulsory languages. In all, the most wisely programmed secondary-school graduate should have mastered three years of English and six years of Hindi. This blueprint would seem to be workable, if students of whatever native language all understand that their choices as to language study are pretty well predetermined by the practical desirability of their knowing six years of Hindi, and if non-Hindi-speaking students supplement classroom study of Hindi from film shows and popular songs. Whether the blueprint can be applied quickly to meet the rising educational aspirations of the schoolgoing population, which is probably underestimated to increase from 46 to 170 millions by 1985, will, of course, remain to be seen. One journalist's prognosis, that of B. R. Dubey, is scarcely optimistic:

> Implementing the recommendations would be a stupendous task for the government mostly because of financial reasons. However, the commission's review of the language problem and recommendations for a new three language formula would reopen the contentious issue and place the Government in political predicament. It will stoke afresh the embers of the language riot after which the three language formula was accepted.[39]

But then Dubey is remembering that the work of two previous educational commissions, a secondary and a university education commission headed by Dr. Mudaliar and Dr. Radhakrishnan, respectively, had had little practical effect. In the same context he said:

> Had most, if not all, recommendations of the two commissions been implemented in letter and spirit, the falling standard of education would have gone up....

Formal education apart, an important element in the learning of conversational Hindi in India is the unfailing popularity of Hindi movies and film-based songs among students, even in non-Hindi-speaking areas. For example, Professor Aileen Ross discovered in Bangalore City, Mysore State, that 'movies are...the only medium that reinforces the students' study of Hindi at school and college.'[40] Unfortunately, the film style of Hindi is different from the formal style tested for in a civil service examination. In its written elements, such an examination tests for mastery of the Devanagari script and for familiarity with a heavily Sanskrit vocabulary.

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[39] Thought, September 17, 1966.

[40] "Some Social Implications of Multilingualism," T. K. N. Unnithan, Indra Deva, and Yogendra Singh (eds.), Towards a Sociology of Culture in India, New Delhi: Prentice Hall-India, 1965, p. 210.

The plans to replace English as an official language have also run head-on into a problem of standardizing Indian scripts. Section 343 of the Constitution specifies that the Hindi language of the Union be written in Devanagari. Realistically, the Kher Commission recommended an optional use of Devanagari script for languages other than the Hindi and Marathi which presently use it. Of these languages, Bengali and Assamese scripts look similar to Devanagari but are actually not interchangeable; the scripts for the Dravidian languages are very distant relatives of Devanagari, and though there is some resemblance between Kannada and Telugu and between Tamil and Malayalam scripts, less educated people do not find it easy to read the script of their opposite numbers; Kashmiri, Sindhi, and Urdu are written in Perso-Arabic script; and tribal languages are often written in roman characters, as Western missionaries were often the first to write such languages at all. A great difficulty attaches to designing typewriters and linotype machines for the Indian scripts, as the shape of a symbol for a single sound may vary according to the position of the letter within a word, and a symbol may combine with adjoining symbols to result in ligatures and compound letters. Again, there is difficulty in applying Devanagari script to some languages, where the distinctiveness of the script used for the language has a great deal to do with maintaining the separation of an 'L-complex' pair such as Hindi and Urdu, or Hindi and Punjabi (the latter is presently written in the Gurmukhi script of the Sikh religion). Religious and sectarian associations with scripts have led to a rejection of the roman script along with rejection of the English language, although were Hindi to be written in roman characters, its status as a potentially international language would be much improved. It is mainly Bengali writers who show favor to the roman script and so are aware of the opposition to it.[41] Thus, as P. S. Ray notes, adoption of the roman script would threaten India's traditionalist scholars or 'pundits'.

> The difficulty [of Roman script] will be felt only for that part of the older literature which is valued by the pundits and yet neglected by the masses.[42]

'Pundits'--those who interpret and perpetuate the traditional sacred learning of the Hindus--are intimately bound into the linguistic phenomenon of 'diglossia' which is so characteristic of India.[43] In simple terms, diglossia refers to a functional division of speech styles between that type for which communication is the chief goal, and that type which aims primarily at an extra-communicative goal. Take any major Indian language for your example, and you will find that ordinary speech is made up of codes for signalling directives to act and manipulate things, but there exists also a prestigious, pedantic, *style* of the language which is employed to dress up the virtues of a text and/or to display the virtuosity of the writer or performer of the text. By extension, this latter style gets used by anyone who knows it, in all kinds of social situations, to accent the relatively high status of the speaker and to underscore the relatively great importance of the matter being talked about. Both the speaker and hearers mutually value this sign of importance in the particular social situation, and it is comparatively irrelevant whether what the speaker says is intelligible to his hearers or not. Indeed, some years ago when an All-India Radio programmer experimented with changing the speech style used on a program 'For Villagers,' from the prestigious style largely unintelligible to the villagers, to a more reasonably conversational style, the villagers felt insulted and protested the change. Indian politicians typically use an elaborate and formal speech style, except for dialect jokes, and therefore avoid the mistake of downgrading their audiences. But the effect of diglossia on communication has serious implications for social change in the villages especially. As John Gumperz wrote in 1957,

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[41] S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.*

[42] *Seminar*, LXVIII (April, 1965), p. 45.

[43] C. A. Ferguson, "Diglossia," *Word*, XV (1959), pp. 325-340.

> The effectiveness of development might be greatly increased if the diversity in style and language used by local government agencies could be eliminated and all persons concerned could be trained to use a style intelligible to villagers, at least in those writings that are destined for village consumption.[44]

However, the problem of communicating information is not peculiar to India or to villagers. 'Diglossia' is only a broad typological designation, and Professor Ferguson has developed a more sensitive scale, with worldwide application, for the functional classification of speech styles according to their degree of restriction to local and particular functional contexts. His W0 category refers to tongues not used for normal written purposes, and that includes most of the world's languages. His W1 category refers to languages used for normal written purposes, such as Hindi and the other regional languages of India. His W3 category includes Russian, English, French, and German, which are international languages and in which translations and resumes of scientific work done in other tongues are regularly published.[45]

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[44] "Language Problems in The Rural Development of North India," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XVI (February, 1957), p. 258.

[45] See articles by Ferguson and by Stewart in Frank A. Rice (ed.), *Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*, Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1962.

Ferguson's scale has the advantage of lending perspective to the problem of communicating technical information to the Indian villager. For one thing, it shows us that Russian and English contain sublanguages for highly technical scientific information, from which no 'bridging dialect' to ordinary Russian or English speech may yet exist. For another, Ferguson's scaling technique makes clear that India's access to scientific information will be drastically reduced by nearly eliminating English from educational curricula. According to UNESCO figures of 1958, approximately 62 per cent of the world's scientific writing is in English. Moreover, in India itself, 25 per cent of newspapers printed are in English, providing information about scientific, educational, and politico-economic events for the two per cent of the population which can read them.

While the adoption of Hindi as a national language is ultimately intended to unify the Indian nation, so far it has split the nation into two great factions. As Dr. S. K. Chatterji, one of India's leading linguistic scientists, put it in his note of dissent as a member of the Official Language Commission:

> The recommendations will....bring about the immediate creation... of Two Classes of Citizens in India--Class I Citizens with Hindi as their language, obtaining an immense amount of special privileges by virtue of their language only, and Class II citizens.... the languages of India other than Hindi will ultimately come, as a result of these far-reaching Recommendations, to have but a secondary position even in their own areas.

Moreover, the leaders of both factions 'worry the bone' of English in their disputations. Thus leaders from non-Hindi-speaking areas make of English a handmaiden to their respective regional languages, in the drive to resist 'Hindi imperialism.' Hindi writers, on the other hand, ever more conscious of rivalry in all respects between their mother tongue and English, increasingly purify Hindi of its English loanwords and replace them with forms taken from Sanskrit dictionaries. They wage a kind of war with English, such as took place in Japan during World War II when words like 'auto' were replaced by locally concocted neologisms that sounded wholly 'Japanese'-- and are now wholly obsolete in spoken Japanese.

The increased power of linguistic states since 1956 bodes ill for the future of Hindi as a national language. With greater power and payoffs dispersing at state and local levels of government, abler leaders are not attracted away to central government but, rather, affect central government from their own more localized positions of power. According to George Rosen:

> The clearest example of the greater power of the state leaders /In the last ten years/ was the choice of Nehru's successor, made largely by what appears to be an effective coalition of the stronger regional

> political leaders, the most important of whom, K. Kamaraj (former chief minister of Madras state), was and is the head of the national Congress party.[46]

This reference to Nehru's successor was, of course, to the late Prime Minister Shastri, but it applied in principle to the succeeding Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi, as well.

If the future of Hindi does not look bright, due to the increasing decentralization of the Indian polity, three factors are at work which may indirectly and inadvertently reduce the strength of sentiments against English. First, the decentralization itself strips English of its former colonial identification with a central Establishment, and Dr. Rosen makes plain that ruralization of leadership is going on:

> Myron Weiner has examined a large sample of political leaders in W. Bengal...and found a trend toward the increasing ruralization of this leadership.... A. C. Mayer in...Madhya Pradesh found a shift...from an urban leadership to an uneasy coalition of rural and urban leaders. In Orissa, Bailey has discerned a gradual movement ...to a wider coalition of groups that included rural and princely elements.... In Madras both Weiner and Beteille have pointed out similar tendencies toward widening the social basis of party leadership since Independence.[47]

Second, it is now twenty years since India achieved its independence from Britain, and the Congress Party meets with declining response to the once highly effective anti-Britain rallying cry:

> Ten years ago, this pitch had considerable appeal to a generation whose memories of the freedom struggle were fresh, but 20 million new voters went to the polls in this [1967] election and to many of them the Congress fight against British rule seems irrelevant.[48]

Third, English is used as an international language in neighboring Southeast Asia:

> English clearly has a long lead over any other language as an international link in South-East Asia, and there are reasons why it may remain dominant. First and foremost, it is the only common language in which all the countries of South-East Asia can communicate with

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[46] Democracy and Economic Change in India, Berkeley: U. of California Press, 1966, p. 116.

[47] op. cit., p. 73.

[48] J. Anthony Lukas, op. cit.

> each other. It is also the language of Australia and New Zealand, who are playing an increasing part in South-East Asia, through the Colombo Plan and in other ways.[49]

The big losers in the progressive decentralization of the Indian polity have been the country's ex-'untouchables.' These castes, which Gandhi called 'Harijans' (Children of God) and which are officially designated as 'Scheduled Castes,' have not benefited from the ruralization of leadership, because such leaders are sensitive to the conventional rural attitudes about social arrangements. Thus J. Anthony Lukas says of Congress Party leaders generally:

> ...The party relies chiefly on the upper-caste 'petty gentry' and prosperous peasantry. This is the class that sets the tone of the party and it is essentially a class interested in maintaining the status quo.[50]

Professor Gerald Berreman specifies how Harijans lose out as a result:

> ...There is no indication that the team /the Mehta team for Panchayati Raj, or local self-government/ were aware that in putting community development in the hands of local people they were likely to sacrifice democratic local justice. This sacrifice seems inevitable because local counils are dominated by local elites who are usually the high castes, and are nearly always the economically advantaged groups.... So far the democratic, equalitarian goals of national leaders...have influenced relatively few villagers.... To expect community development in a democratic idiom to succeed under these circumstances is even more unrealistic than to expect rapid, orderly integration of the schools in the southern United States to result from putting responsibility for school integration in the hands of local school boards.[51]

Not surprisingly, then, the late B. R. Ambedkar, Scheduled Caste leader and chief draftsman of India's Constitution, saw linguistic-states reorganization as a threat to the category of castes which he represented and which he attempted, in his last years, to raise up through conversion to Buddhism (compare the conversions of American Negroes to Islam). Likewise, factions arose along caste lines during the 1966 movement to bifurcate Punjab State:

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[49] Guy Hunter, South-East Asia: Race, Culture and Nation, London and New York: Oxford U. Press, 1966, p. 131.

[50] op. cit.

[51] "Caste and Community Development," Human Organization, XXII, 1 (Spring, 1963), p. 93.

> In inquiring into the demand for a Punjabi-speaking state, we found that the population which supposedly spoke Punjabi split along religious lines over the reorganization of the state on a linguistic basis ....But even more significant than the split along religious lines is the division within the Sikh community between Harijan and non-Harijan Sikhs, with the Harijan Sikhs opposing the demand for Punjabi Suba because of their fear of complete domination by the non-Harijan Sikhs in a smaller state....Again the Hindus in the Hariana region are split between Jats [high caste] and Harijans, and the Harijans oppose the demand for a separate Hariana state for precisely the same reasons that Harijan Sikhs oppose the demand for Punjabi Suba.[52]

In addition to their social and political disadvantages, it may also be that at least some of the lower-status groups in the caste hierarchy speak 'culturally-deprived dialects' of the major regional languages, like certain dialects of English associated with lower classes in Britain and the United States. This is a question which still requires much investigation, but certainly there are differences in the semantic organization of speech which seem to correlate with differing levels of social status in some localities of India.[53] However, there are indications that in modern India, status criteria other than traditional caste ascriptions may affect the semantic organization of a person's speech. Thus a recent study contrasting the speech of brāhmaṇ women and non-brāhmaṇ women suggests that both categories of women can and do use elements of an 'elaborated code' in their speech, as opposed to a 'restricted code,' when their male family heads occupy a position of some authority in a white-collar administrative structure.[54] Such findings would seem to bear a relationship to recent evolutionist interpretations of language behavior as goal-seeking attempts to control the environment of the organism or group.[55]

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[52] Baldev Raj Nayar, Minority Politics in the Punjab, Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1966, p. 334.

[53] For summary of findings, see William Bright, "Language, Social Stratification and Cognitive Orientation," Sociological Inquiry, XXXVI (Spring, 1966), pp. 313-318.

[54] For definition of these terms, of which 'elaborated code' self-evidently connotes greater complexity, see B. Bernstein, "Elaborated and Restricted Codes: An Outline," Sociological Inquiry, XXXVI (Spring, 1966), pp. 254-261; for a discussion of the study contrasting brāhmaṇ and non-brāhmaṇ female speech in Kannada, see W. McCormack, "Occupation and Residence in Relation to Dharwar Dialects," Bernard S. Cohn and Milton Singer (eds.), Social Structure and Social Change in India, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 1967.

[55] See Dell Hymes, "Functions of Speech: An Evolutionary Approach," Frederick C. Gruber (ed.), Anthropology and Education, Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1961.

An interesting sidelight on this interpretation of language behavior as a means of controlling the environment is the confidence Indians have in naming devices as a means of controlling the environment. Generally, a person's caste status can be inferred from his personal names, although Sanskritization has made for considerable imitation of brāhmaṇ naming customs by non-brāhmaṇs, and this confuses the picture. In South India, the first name is that of a village or city (nowadays, it is anglicized to an initial, such as 'M' for Mysore City), the second (optional) is the father's personal name, the third is the individual's personal name (generally the Sanskrit name of a deity), and the fourth is the subcaste or caste name. Among sectarian castes, such as the Lingāyats, the personal name is often a variant of the name of their sectarian deity, Śiva, and is followed by the caste name; other non-brāhmaṇ castes follow practices similar to those of Lingāyats. In North India, the last name may again be either the caste cluster or caste name--such that the son of Mr. Gupta (caste cluster name) may be Mr. Agarwal (caste name)--but, both names, Gupta and Agarwal, signify ancestral residence in the Gangetic Plain near Delhi. Thus Indian names reveal a person's linguistic province, broadly speaking, and often also his position in a local caste hierarchy of that province. Banerjis and Chatterjis are brāhmaṇs from Bengal, Patels and Kars are from Maharashtra, and Singhs from the Punjab or Uttar Pradesh. Moreover, one can assume a Singh had or has an association with the Sikh religion, and so on. In Ceylon, which has been much subject to the influence of trading and plantation economies, the caste system persits mainly through shared understandings about the association of particular castes with particular sets of personal names. In Ceylon today, anyone who can change his name, and thereby confuse the criteria, is open to the possibility of altering his caste status.[56] In India --a propos of 'restricted codes' versus 'elaborated codes'-- it is noteworthy that lower-caste persons tend to take personal names from observable gross physical or temperamental features (e.g., 'Red,' 'Lame,' 'Blackie,' 'Softie'), while higher-caste persons bear names which more nearly mark out their individuality or attribute a more abstract purpose for being.

Conclusions

This survey of India's language problems has attempted to place them where they rightfully belong--that is, in the context of her total traditional society and culture. It has also attempted to view these problems in some historical depth. Unfortunately, the survey yields no simple solution to the problems.

Rather, we have seen that linguistic factionalism merges into a much larger and more general phenomenon of political factionalism, which is characteristically issueless except for local power struggles. According to J. Anthony Lukas:

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[56] N. Yalman, "The Flexibility of Caste Principles in a Kandyan Community," E. R. Leach (ed.), Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan, Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1960.

> ...More important than castes are factions, which frequently divide villages into bitter rival camps. The factions, which usually cut across caste lines, are based more on personal animosities and long-standing feuds. They have no set political loyalty but swing to whichever party offers them most.... Today, the [Congress] party is really an alliance of factions at all levels from the village to the Cabinet room.[57]

Future history alone seems to hold the answer for India's present crisis of modernization--her social disorganization through 'alienation'-- which was described by her President, Dr. S. Radharkrishnan, on January 25, 1967, as follows:

> Unruly behaviour of some members in our legislatures; factions, caste disputes and political rivalries that have disrupted many a State; fasts unto death and even threats of self-immolation; riots and sabotage....

To understand India, it behooves us to deepen and widen our understanding of the history of modernization, and for this an excellent source is Cyril Black's The Dynamics of Modernization.[58] An earlier source, but still useful for its anthropological perspective on alienation from traditions among the tribal peoples with whom anthropologists have always been professionally concerned, is Ralph Linton's The Study of Man.[59]

It is perhaps particularly regrettable that the virus of factionalism besets many Indian universities and much of the organization of her scientific research as well. Nothing in the present survey seems calculated to alter a prognosis made ten years ago by Selig S. Harrison:

> Present trends, then, point to a rapid decline in the extent and standards of English instruction, to the teaching of most non-scientific university courses through the regional languages, and to the emergence of a generation of provincial bureaucrats and politicians literally unable to talk meaningfully to one another on a national stage. In the balance of power between language

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[57] op. cit.

[58] New York: Harper and Row, 1966.

[59] First published in 1936, but now available in paperback.

> regions in India, Hindi does not enjoy a strong enough position to make a reversal of the regional tide likely.[60]

For a further documentation of Harrison's perceptions about the dominance of regionalism in Indian politics, interested readers may turn to his book, India: The Most Dangerous Decades.[61] For projections on India's future position, from the point of view that her urbanization trend will increase rather than decrease problems of communication posed by linguistic diversity, see U. Weinreich's "Functional Aspects of Indian Bilingualism"[62] and G. Kelley's "The Status of Hindi as a Lingua Franca".[63]

In closing, we may note that Sanskrit and English, both possible future candidates for a language to link India's regions, present problems of communication in the Indian situation. Of Sanskrit, one of its profounder students, D.D. Kosambi, has said:

> Sanskrit has quite literally no future. The simple future tense does not exist in its complicated grammar.[64]

Of English, Mahadeo L. Apte has said:

> In English the second person pronoun 'you' is used both in the singular and plural. There is no way of indicating degrees of respect for the listener by using different second person plural pronouns except such phrases as 'your honor' or 'your highness,' etc. In Hindi...there are three second person pronouns...using one...form or the other is dependent on the social context, namely the social status of the speaker and the listener, time and place, etc. In addition such allocation of status involves...age difference, caste and class difference, etc.[65]

To convey these status notions in English, strained, ludicrous, and un-English honorifics would have to be resorted to. Thus, as Dr. Apte's observation makes clear, the multi-language question in India must be, in the last analysis, much like a family quarrel among 'brothers' who already have many resources in common. So it began, and so it continues.

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[60] "The Challenge to Indian Nationalism," Foreign Affairs (July, 1956), p. 4.

[61] Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1960.

[62] Word, XIII (August, 1957), p. 230.

[63] W. Bright (ed.), Sociolinguistics, The Hague: Mouton, 1966, p. 304.

[64] Seminar, XI (July, 1960), p. 30.

[65] "Linguistic Methodology and the Teaching of Hindi," MS., Feb. 4, 1967.

CHAPTER XI

THE STUDY OF CIVILIZATIONS

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THE STUDY OF CIVILIZATIONS

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I. Defining 'Civilization'

'Civilized' and 'civilization' are words "everyone understands." We can use them in all sorts of contexts and still be sure we are "making sense:" The ancient Greeks possessed a civilization; Neanderthal man did not. Today Western Europe has a civilization; whereas the Scandinavian laplanders, European gypsies, Near Eastern nomads, and Andaman Islanders do not. Within our society a person who deprecates fine art, music, literature, or manners is not civilized; while one who appreciates, or better yet creates, fine art is civilized. On a larger scale, a state like Hitler's Germany that exterminates millions of humans is uncivilized; while a state that protects with its courts the lives of all citizens is civilized.

Before we embark on the study of a civilization, however, it might be well for us to examine somewhat rigorously the various meanings of the term. It may even be useful for us to choose our own meaning of 'civilization,' recognizing the arbitrariness of such a choice but also recognizing a need at times to be arbitrary in order to be clear. Among scientists, historians, and philosophers of history, 'civilization' has at least four accepted meanings:

A. 'Civilization' as a technologically advanced state of society

The American Lewis Henry Morgan, in his Ancient Society (1877), was one of the first writers to specify in detail the technological criteria of 'civilization.' Assuming a "natural logic of the human mind" and certain "necessary limitations of its powers," he postulated that all tribes and nations start from a stage of 'lower savagery' when men live on fruits and nuts. The acquisition of fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of fire introduce the stage of 'middle savagery,' and the bow and arrow lead to 'upper savagery.' The invention or practice of pottery ushers in the stage of 'lower barbarism'; domesticated animals and irrigated cultivation initiate 'middle barbarism'; and manufactured iron 'upper barbarism.' Finally, with the use of a phonetic alphabet and the production of literary records 'civilization' begins.[1] For Morgan, 'civilization' is a qualitatively distinct stage. A tribe may be farther or nearer to it, but--strictly speaking--it cannot be 'more civilized' or 'less civilized.' It becomes civilized once it has passed through all the preceding stages and has finally acquired writing and literary records.[2]

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[1] Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society, Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1877, pp. 3-18.

Morgan fixed the frame within which others set their hypotheses. Frederick Engels in his essay "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" wrote:

> ... Morgan rediscovered in America, in his own way, the materialist conception of history that had been discovered by Marx forty years ago, and in his comparison of barbarism and civilization was led by this conception to the same conclusions, in the main points, as Marx had arrived at.[3]

According to Engels, production throughout the savage and barbarian stages was essentially collective and consumption was carried out by the direct distribution of products within immediate communities. All this changed with the advent of the phonetic alphabet and civilization.

> ... civilization is that stage of development of society at which division of labour, the resulting exchange between individuals, and commodity production, which combines the two, reach their complete unfoldment and revolutionize the whole of hitherto existing society.[4]

They revolutionize society, said Engels, by introducing exploitation. In ancient civilization, this exploitation took the form of slavery; in the Middle Ages it was serfdom; in modern times it is wage labor. Although the details may vary with the means of production, the fact of oppression is constant throughout civilization. The "exploitation of one class by another is the basis of civilization..."[5]

In a similar vein, the prehistoric archaeologist V. Gordon Childe accepted Morgan's distinctions between savage, barbarian, and civilized societies. At the critical juncture between barbarism and civilization, according to Childe, society

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[2] In 1952 this point was set forth again in somewhat greater detail by I.J. Gelb in A Study of Writing (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). For Gelb, 'civilization' is identified with the presence of writing sufficiently flexible to express most of what people want to say. Societies without such writing are not 'civilized.'

[3] Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works, Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1949, vol. 2, p. 155.

[4] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 292.

[5] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 295.

> . . . persuaded or compelled the farmers to produce a surplus of foodstuffs over and above their domestic requirements, and by concentrating this surplus used it to support a new urban population of specialized craftsmen, merchants, priests, officials, and clerks. Writing was. . .a necessary by-product of this urban revolution which ushers in civilization and initiates the historical record.[6]

Childe identified ten attributes he felt existed in all ancient civilizations, including: 1) large, dense, settlements; 2) differentiated social classes; 3) taxes and a royal treasury; 4) monumental public buildings; 5) an elite class freed from manual work; 6) writing; 7) some degree of science; 8) foreign trade; 9) specialized craftsmen; and 10) naturalistic art.[7] All these attributes ultimately hinge on surplus agricultural production. The most distinctively 'new' feature in civilizations is the rise of cities.

Philip Bagby, in his Culture and History (1963), selects cities as the distinguishing characteristic of civilization. In fact, "civilization. . .is the culture of cities." He defines 'cities' not by arbitrary criteria of population size and density but by seeing if the majority of the inhabitants are engaged in activities other than producing food.

> It is this freedom from the need of directly producing their own food which presumably enables the inhabitants of cities to devote all their time to specializing and so to complicate their culture; the same freedom also enables them to travel, to trade, and to exert military power over large areas and thus to extend the area of their culture.[8]

For all of the above writers, 'civilization' is a technologically advanced state of society--possessing certain implements, inventions, or economic surpluses that (implicitly or explicitly) permit a particular style of life. In common parlance, this same meaning is often attached to 'civilization.' The traveler who has been forced to put up with the 'primitive' facilities in the hinterland of Asia, South America, or Africa speaks of how good it is to "get back to civilization" with its drinkable tap water, air conditioning, and flush toilets. In layman's usage, 'civilization' is a quantitative rather than a qualitative term. A town where one can get a hot tub bath and an iced drink is more 'civilized' than a village where one scrubs by the well and downs tepid buffalo milk. And a city like New York, Tokyo, or Paris with its entertainments, department stores, restaurants, and automated services is the most 'civilized' of all.

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[6] V. Gordon Childe, What Happened in History, Baltimore: Penguin Books, rev. ed., 1954, p. 24.

[7] Cited in Robert Redfield, Human Nature and the Study of Society, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962, vol. I, p. 403.

[8] Philip Bagby, Culture and History, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963, p. 162.

B. 'Civilization' as a moral quality or content of society

A second widely-accepted definition of 'civilization' concerns the moral content of men and societies. This definition harks back to the Latin 'civilis' and 'civilitas' referring to general qualities of the citizen ('civis'), especially a politeness and amiability shown by superiors to inferiors. This was in part the connotation of the term when used by the French rationalists, especially Voltaire and the other encyclopédistes in the 18th century, as well as by Dr. Johnson's Boswell, when he introduced the word into English. The underlying premise is of increasing rationalism as society moves away from barbarism and feudalism. Those men and societies at the forefront of this movement are the most 'civilized' and enlightened.

In recent times the philosopher Alfred North Whitehead has defined 'civilization' in a manner fitting this general category:

> I put forward as a general definition of civilization, that a civilized society is exhibiting the five qualities of Truth, Beauty, Adventure, Art, Peace. Here by the last quality of Peace... I mean a quality of mind steady in its reliance that fine action is treasured in the nature of things.[9]

He proceeds with an extended discussion of Adventure and Art (since he feels that the meanings of Truth and Beauty are apparent). According to Whitehead, although it is common for a nation to move from being 'uncivilized' to being 'civilized,' it is also possible for a nation to move in the reverse direction—from being 'civilized' to being 'uncivilized.' He illustrates this with the example of Europe. For a century and a half before World War I, Europe flourished with consistent growth. It spread industrialism, peopled continents, gave new directions to literature and art, and refashioned governments and kings. But by the time it reached the twentieth century, it had lost its Adventure; it "wore itself out. The crash of the Great War marked its end..." "There remains /in Europe/," according to Whitehead, "the show of civilization, without any of its realities."[10]

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[9] Alfred North Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (paperback), 1961 (first ed., 1933), p. 273.

[10] Ibid., p. 277.

Another philosopher to deal with 'civilization' in a similar manner was George P. Adams. Adams rejects the suggestion that 'civilization' is a society's technological or institutional state (our first type of definition).

> ...the institutional organization of any society is not the totality of its civilization. For these human and social institutions have a content; they are the vehicles through which something gets expressed. They comprise the body and not the soul of civilization.[11]

The soul of a civilization, according to Adams, consists of its values; for example, the meanings it gives to such terms as economy, security, freedom, or justice.

> ... these contents, these ideal meanings, outgrow the body, the visible, organized social structures, the institutions, which are the containers of these meanings...they are dissolved and absolved from the local and the parochial and become, in this sense, absolute.[12]

It is wrong to judge a society's values on the basis of its structures; ultimately its values are independent of its structures. To judge a society's values, one must judge those values. Thus, a peasant or tribal society could be quite 'civilized,' while an industrialized nation could be 'uncivilized.'

This concept of 'civilization' also enters into common parlance. One speaks of the barbarity of Nazi Germany whose leaders were finally condemned before 'civilized men' for their 'crimes against humanity.' Poison gas, napalm, bacteriological warfare, and 'brain-washing' have all been labeled 'uncivilized' at one time or another, despite the fact that it takes considerable technological advancement to produce them. The fact that little agreement has been reached on the content of 'civilized' values does not discourage most of us from labeling certain forms of cruelty 'uncivilized.' In this case, the absence of the phenomenon is easier to define than the phenomenon itself.

C. 'Civilization' as a stage in the life-cycle of societies

One of the first writers to develop a natural history of civilizations was the Russian botanist, Nikolai Danilevsky. In his Russia and Europe (1871) he reviewed the histories of twelve [13] 'culture-historical types.' Although certain achievements could be transmitted from one of these 'culture-historical types' to another, there could be no real blending, since each was distinctively different from the others (like the pre-Darwinian biological 'archetypes.') Despite their uniqueness, said Danilevsky, each of these 'culture-historical types' followed a similar life-cycle. First came an early primitive or 'ethnographic' stage, followed by a stage of political autonomy, leading into the stage of civilization. In its 'civilized' stage, each culture-historical type developed its ideas of wisdom, well-being, freedom, and justice. No type can be encyclopedic in its creative achievements; it selected one or a few fields in which to excel, for example Greece in the realization of beauty, the Semites in the development of religion, India in fantasy and mysticism. In time, the creative forces of any given culture-historical type become exhausted, it leaves the 'civilized' stage and declines into contradiction, apathy, and extinction.

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[11] George P. Adams, "The Idea of Civilization," in V.F. Lenzen et al., Civilization, Berkeley: University of California Press (paperback), 1959, p. 57.

[12] Ibid., p. 62.

A generation after Danilevsky's Russia and Europe, Oswald Spengler published his The Decline of the West (1918). Drawing on eight [14] High Cultures (Hochkulturen) rather than Danilevsky's twelve culture-historical types, Spengler independently arrived at some of Danilevsky's conclusions, i.e., High Cultures are autonomous organisms, unique unto themselves, fully comprehensible only to their own members, and passing through their own life-cycles. Each High Culture has its birth ("in the moment when a great soul awakens out of the proto-spirituality of ever childish humanity, detaches itself, and becomes a form from the formless, a bounded and mortal thing from the boundless and enduring"), its youth, its manhood, and old age. When the fire in its soul dies, it enters its last phase--'civilization.' Distinguishing features of this 'civilization' are cosmopolitanism and the megalopolis rather than home, clan and fatherland; agnosticism and metaphysics rather than religion; mass instead of folk art; and urbanization, class struggle, bigness, and Caesarism. In its 'civilization' stage a High Culture may experience a dying 'spell of second religiosity' with mystic cults and gnosticism. But in the end it loses its desire to be and "wishes itself out of the overlong daylight and back in the darkness of proto-mysticism, in the grave." [15]

Where Danilevsky and Spengler agree on the basic outline of historical progression

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[13] His list of 'culture-historical types' includes the Egyptian, Ancient Semitic, Chinese, Hindu-Indian, Iranian, Hebrew, Greek, Roman, Neo-Semitic (Arabian), Germano-Romanic (European), Mexican, and Peruvian. Danilevsky noted a thirteenth that was about to begin, the Russian-Slavic. This one, maintained Danilevsky, would carry on the torch of creative leadership from exhausted Europe.

[14] The Egyptian, Babylonian, Indian, Chinese, Greco-Roman (Classical or Apollonian), Arabian (Magian), Mexican, and Western (Faustian).

[15] Quoted in Pitrim A. Sorokin, Sociological Theories of Today, New York: Harper and Row, 1966, p. 189.

(from young and vital, to mature and productive, to old and senile), they differ in almost an amusing way in where they place the label 'civilized.' For Danilevsky, 'civilization' represents the period of flowering creativity; for Spengler it represents the period of withering decay.

D. 'Civilization' as a complex form of society or culture

Arnold J. Toynbee, in his monumental Study of History (twelve volumes, 1939-1961) discusses twenty-one different civilizations.[16] According to Toynbee, 'civilizations' are a species within a genus he calls "societies which are 'intelligible fields of study.'" The only other species within the same genus are 'primitive societies.' 'Primitive societies,' according to Toynbee, are legion in number, short-lived, restricted to narrow geographical areas and relatively small numbers of people. 'Civilizations,' on the other hand, although few in number, embrace hundreds of thousands of individuals, survive for centuries, and extend over wide reaches of territory.[17] The 'intelligibility' of these societies rises from the fact that the history of any lesser segment of the society makes better sense when incorporated into the society than when taken by itself. Thus, the history of a particular clan makes better sense within the context of the 'primitive society' of which the clan is a part, just as the history of England makes better sense when fitted into the context of Western 'civilization.'[18] Admittedly the boundaries between 'civilizations' are vague, and the 'intelligibility' of any given field of historical study is open to question. Nonetheless, in broad outline Toynbee is saying that 'civilizations' are exceptionally large and long-lasting societies that provide the historian with a meaningful unit for analysis.

The sociologist Pitrim Sorokin, in his four-volume Social and Cultural Dynamics (1937-1941) and some of his later writings, covers the last twenty-five hundred years of history in much the same grand sweep as Danilevsky, Spengler, and Toynbee, but with somewhat closer attention to detail. Sorokin is meticulous in distinguishing between societies and cultures. Societies are made up of social systems (organized groups) and congeries (uncorrelated parts); cultures are made up of cultural systems (integrated segments of culture) and congeries (unintegrated parts). Sorokin, in direct opposition to Danilevsky, Spengler, and Toynbee, maintains that cultures and civilizations are *not* integrated--are *not* multiple manifestations of a common theme. According to Sorokin:

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[16] These include the : Egyptiac, Andean, Sinic, Minoan, Sumeric, Mayan, Yucatec, Mexic, Hittite, Syriac, Babylonic, Iranic, Arabic, Far Eastern (Main Body), Far Eastern (Japanese Offshoot), Indic, Hindu, Hellenic, Orthodox Christian (Main Body), Orthodox Christian (Russian Offshoot), and Western.

[17] Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, abridgement of volumes I-VI, by D.C. Somervell, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 35, 36.

[18] Ibid., p. 1.

> the total culture of each civilization contains, side by side with the central cultural system of its main group, a multitude of different, partly neutral, partly contradictory, cultural systems and congeries.[19]

To try to force these unrelated parts into meaningful consistency is to 'commit the error of all totalitarian theories.'

Despite the fact that any total culture (or civilization) is *not* an integrated whole, Sorokin maintains that cultural *systems* (language, science, philosophy, religion, the fine arts, ethics, law, and derivations of technology, economics, and politics) *are* integrated within themselves. Thus, within a given culture, the religious cultural system will have a degree of unity between its ideologies, its material manifestations (e.g., temples, religious objects), and its behavioral forms (e.g., ritual and moral requirements of its members). However, *other* elements within the culture will be unrelated to or actually contradict elements within the religious cultural system.

Besides these unities within the cultural systems (language, science, etc.), Sorokin maintains that there are vaster cultural unities that he calls 'cultural supersystems.' These 'cultural supersystems' concern the answer a specific segment of humanity during a specific time period gives to the question: "What is the true, ultimage reality-value?" If the true, ultimate reality-value is *sensory*, then the cultural supersystem is 'sensate.' If it is *a supersensory and superrational God*, the cultural supersystem is 'ideational.' If it is *Manifold Infinity*, the cultural supersystem is 'idealistic' or 'integral.'

The cultural supersystem embraces all the cultural systems (language, science, philosophy, etc.). For example, if the cultural supersystem is sensate it will be characterized by sensate language, sensate science, etc. Thus in contemporary Western culture there is a unity between a nude on a paperback cover (sensate art), pragmatism (sensate philosophy), and material wealth (sensate economics). Likewise, in medieval Europe with its ideational supersystem, there was a unity between the triptych (ideational art), theology (ideational philosophy), and the avoidance of usury (ideational economics).

According to Sorokin, the use of the term 'civilization' by Danilevsky, Spengler, and Toynbee confuses rather than clarifies the issues:

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[19] Pitrim A. Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

> It is illogical and unscientific to term as 'civilizations' quite different social groups with diverse total cultures. The error consists in a wrong identification of phenomena that are quite different.[20]

For they labeled as 'civilizations' everything from ethnic and religious groups to states, territories, 'multibonded' groups and even agglomerations of various societies, ascribing to the total cultures of these groups a nonexistent interdependence and consistency.

To a certain extent the American anthropologist A. L. Kroeber split the difference between Sorokin on one hand and Danilevsky, Spengler, and Toynbee on the other. For Kroeber a 'civilization' is a multinational and multilingual collection of styles (self-consistent ways of doing things) that are followed by the inhabitants of a certain area through a certain duration of time. According to Kroeber, each civilization might be regarded:

> ... as a sort of superstyle, or master style, possessing some degree of over-all design and being set, faced, or sloped in a specific and more or less unique direction.[21]

This superstyle includes within itself activities that in turn have their own styles: law, government, social relations, production and economy, religious belief and organization, literature, art, music, and building. These several activities:

> ...usually do not synchronize exactly and may have their peaks strung along for some centuries. But as parts of the same civilization, they are expectably at least roughly contemporary or overlapping, as well as interconnected.[22]

The styles of each of these activities grow, are irreversible, and die. Similarly, civilizations as superstyles exhibit the same properties of growth, irreversibility, and death. But, for Kroeber, the edges of cultures and civilizations, and the beginnings and ends of stylistic evolution are less clear than they appear to be for Danilevsky, Spengler, and Toynbee. "All cultures have fuzzy edges," wrote Kroeber; so do all styles, civilizations, and stages.

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[20] Ibid., p. 217.

[21] A. L. Kroeber, An Anthropologist Looks at History, ed. by Theodora Kroeber, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963, p. 57.

[22] Ibid., p. 23.

Max Lerner, in his two-volume America as a Civilization (1957) includes a definition of 'civilization' that approaches the complexity of Kroeber's view rather than the simplicity of Danilevsky's, Spengler's, and Toynbee's.

> I use 'civilization' as my broadest concept. When a culture--which is the set of blueprints for a society--has grown highly complex and has cut a wide swath in history and in the minds of men, one looks for a term more highly charged with the overtones of these meanings. 'Civilization' is such a term.[23]

Lerner then goes on to discuss what he calls a 'figure-ground' perspective on differences within a civilization, especially American civilization. Like a design on the carpet, it is sometimes difficult to tell in a civilization what is the 'figure' and what is the 'ground' on which that figure has been set, what is the thesis and what the antithesis. In America, says Lerner, these figure-ground differences include the interplay between power and ideas, science and conscience, revolution and conservatism, individualism and collectivism, capitalist economics and democratic politics, classlessness and upward mobility. Lerner sees the interplay as signs of an effort "to resolve the conflicting impulses that are to be found in every civilization but each of which occurs [in the United States] with a strength and tenacity scarcely witnessed elsewhere."[24] Although one may question whether American civilization is on an analytic level parallel with 'Western civilization' or 'Islamic civilization,' even Sorokin could not complain that Lerner had committed a 'totalitarian' error in his definition.

Robert Redfield, the American anthropologist, shared with Lerner, Kroeber, and Toynbee the view that 'civilization' is a complex form of society or culture. However, he was uneasy with definitions that rely on the presence of one single criterion (for example, writing or cities) to establish whether a society or culture were or were not 'civilized.' For example, if writing is taken to be the sine qua non of 'civilization,' then one might have to drop the Inca, Maya, and early Chinese from the list of 'civilizations' unless one were willing to stretch the definition of 'writing' to include the quipus of the Inca, the glyphs of the Maya, and the inscriptions on the divinitory bones of the early Chinese. Likewise, if cities were the sine qua non of 'civilization,' medieval Europe might have to be dropped from the list; inasmuch as cities were of such little relevance during this period.

Redfield abandoned an all-or-nothing approach to civilization and saw instead a continuum of complexity stretching from 'folk society' at one end to 'civilization' at the other. He defined a society as 'more civilized' to the extent that it is:

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[23] Max Lerner, America as a Civilization, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957, vol. I, pp. 60, 61.

[24] Ibid., p. 73.

> '... large, has multiplied communications within and without among varied kinds of people, has divided labor, especially that addressed to intellectual and aesthetic production, has developed deliberate design in personal and collective life-policy, legislation, enacted institutions, ' and so forth.[25]

Even accepting his own continuum-definition of 'civilization, ' Redfield notices a quality of 'civilized' culture that he feels is worth commenting on at some length:

> A civilization is a great culture; it is also a compound culture; rural people and townspeople are apart, different, and traditionally interconnected. The rural people characteristically become peasantry, living in small communities that maintain local ways of life more or less coherent and for the most part orally transmitted, like those of primitive peoples. But peasants are dependent in important part on the moral and ideational authority of intellectual elites characteristically resident outside of the villages, in towns, shrine-centers, temples or monasteries. The peasant communities, local yet like one another, together form a stratum, an 'estate, ' within the civilized society; with respect or suspicion, peasants look to the city man, the mandarin, pundit, or imam, the priest or the philosopher. Yet the content of their thought depends on those cultivators and modifiers of tradition, as the cultivated speculations and reflections of the intellectual class arise out of the unconsidered traditions of the illiterate. A civilization is an interaction of many little local cultures and a 'high culture, ' a 'great tradition, ' that is considered, developed, and eventually written down by thinkers and teachers provided with the time to create works of the mind and connected with religious or philosophical institutions.[26]

It should be clear from all of the above that there is no shortage of anything but agreement on definitions of 'civilization. ' Not only do the definitions differ, but even the units being identified differ. Thus, what Danilevsky considers one civilization (the Ancient Semitic) Toynbee considers four (Babylonic, Hittite, Sumeric, and Syriac). Spengler's one Magian civilization becomes two for Danilevsky (Iranian and Arabic) and four for Toynbee (Iranic, Syriac, Orthodox Christian (Main Body), and Arabic). Lerner's American civilization might be admitted by Kroeber, but it would be ruled out of court by Danilevsky and Spengler, who would agree with Toynbee that an understanding of America is not possible without an understanding of its larger Western civilization. Whitehead agrees with Danilevsky and Spengler that Western civilization is dead; Toynbee maintains that it is salvageable; Lerner holds with the poet Emerson a century ago, who said: "We think our civilization is near its meridian, but we are yet only at the cockcrowing and the morning star."

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[25] Robert Redfield, op. cit., p. 370.
[26] Ibid., p. 404.

Looking at the above confusion emanating in part from different interpretations of the same events, in part from differing definitions of 'civilization,' one who likes tidy categories and clear demarcations is tempted to abandon the term 'civilization' to the graveyard of meaningless words. Obviously it is overworked. It at least needs a rest if not a burial.

But before consigning the word to its fate, let us look again at the controversy it has generated. Aside from those who define civilization as the moral quality or content of society, there is broad agreement (or at least a broad area of non-disagreement) between those who define 'civilization' as a technologically-advanced state of society, those who define it as a stage in the life-cycle of societies, and those who see it as a complex form of society or culture, especially if they are willing to treat their definitions as 'generally-present' features rather than 'indispensible' features of 'civilization.' Thus, Danilevsky, Spengler, and Toynbee all agree that some sort of overarching pattern of behavior existed in the Near East in the post-Christian era. They disagree primarily on the relative amounts of influence exerted on this 'civilization' by Islam, Orthodox Christianity, and earlier Syrian and Iranian forces. Morgan and Childe would agree that there was a 'civilization.' Kroeber would undoubtedly agree that some form of superstyle existed, and Sorokin would even be willing to say that the cultural supersystem was more 'ideational' than it was 'sensate,' although Toynbee might disagree with him since he sees Islam as a universal religion appearing after the creative minority becomes the dominant minority. But this sort of disagreement becomes a scholar's debate--not a gladiator's combat. The area of disagreement is minor compared to the area of agreement.

E. A working definition of 'Civilization'

Which of the above definitions of 'civilization' is the correct one? Is civilization really any of them, or any combination of them? Or is civilization really something else? To ask what is a correct definition can mean several things: 1) Does this definition agree with some previously-adopted definition? (This merely pushes the question of a definition's correctness to that of the previous definition's correctness and so on ad infinitum). 2) Does this definition agree with majority usage of the term 'civilization'? (This makes the correctness of a definition a matter of referring to the dictionary. My large abridgement of Webster's dictionary gives two meanings for 'civilization'; the library's Webster's gives three, with the third one having three sub-meanings; so *this* does not seem to be a way out of the problem). 3) Does this definition make central what is most worth attention for purposes of some particular discourse? Does it enable 'civilization' to stand as a shorthand term for some longer, purposefully-selected (and therefore arbitrary) statement, with the recognition that this does not make the definition 'true' so much as it makes it potentially 'useful.' If one accepts this last meaning, one can judge a definition only by whether or not it is used consistently throughout the discourse, and, at the end, whether or not it has indeed been useful in advancing a topic or clarifying a point. It is this third standard of correctness that I shall use in the following paragraphs.

For a number of reasons that I shall subsequently explain, I have selected the following definition of 'civilization':

> A civilization is a great culture crossing national or linguistic boundaries and containing formalized patterns for the management of complexity and organization of change within its patterns. These patterns are defined and interpreted by one or more classes of institutionalized 'gate-watchers.'

For 'culture' I accept A. L. Kroeber's and Clyde Kluckhohn's definition that includes: 1) people's notions of the way things ought to be done; 2) their *conceptions* of the way their group actually behaves; and 3) what actually occurs.[27] To understand any given culture requires both a knowledge of the 'official' codes and a description of what the people actually do, the learned exegesis and the Gallup poll. By 'great culture' I mean one incorporating many thousands and sometimes millions of people.

Several additional features of the above definition need underscoring. For example, this definition attributes to civilization 'built-in' disjointedness and inconsistencies ("crossing national or linguistic boundaries"). It makes civilization in a certain sense an 'artificial' and self-conscious thing ("formalized patterns of behavior"). It requires civilization to have a group of pattern readjusters ("one or more classes of institutionalized 'gate-watchers'"). And it makes it necessary for a civilization to include ways to manage complexity and organize change within its own patterns.

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[27] A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, "Culture - A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions," *Papers of Peabody Museum*, Cambridge, Mass: Peabody Museum, Harvard University, XLVII, 1 (1952), pp. 159-190.

It is this latter point that I especially wish to stress: the formalized anticipation of change within its own patterns. Any society that has managed to survive over time has developed certain formal anticipations of change. A gathering-and-hunting tribe has regular procedures for handling the death of a chieftain or head of a household, the advent of a drought, or the initiation or termination of a feud with a neighboring tribe. But a civilization anticipates not only these kinds of change; it also anticipates changes within itself and its own culture. It is as though it recognizes that if it is to survive, it will have to be able to meet problems yet undreamed of in contexts still inconceivable. To do this, guidelines can be established (patterns for the...organization of change) and personnel appointed (the 'gate-watchers'). But the solutions cannot be anticipated, only the mechanisms and principles that will provide guidelines for those solutions. Ultimately the civilization itself will have to change.

Thus in Confucian civilization the literati were the 'gate-watchers' carrying with them a common tradition of Confucian learning, but serving in provinces with different languages and different traditions. They perceived an image of themselves and their world into which they fitted new items of information.[28] They defined their culture in terms of its essence or basic structure (t'i) and its functions (yung). They could compromise on the functions. They could never compromise on the basic structure. Particular literati differed in the decisions they rendered as to what was and was not appropriate, and what was t'i and what was yung. Nonetheless, there was a basic similarity in their thinking and their decisions, a similarity derived from the fact that they had learned the same teachings, been exposed to the same view of the world (e.g., that China was the self-sufficient political, cultural, and geographical center of the world), and absorbed the same general image of themselves (an image not necessarily true, but generally consistent).

Similarly in much of the Muslim world the 'Ulamā, or keepers of the law (Shari'a), were the 'gate-watchers.' They were the products of a ubiquitous Muslim educational system, the madrasah, where they learned the four sources of the law: the Qur'ān, examples of the Prophet recorded in the Hadith, early Muslim practice, and (for some) the aid of human reason. Different 'mixes' of these four sources developed in the different orthodox Sunni law schools. This was the group that finally, through the interpretations of al'Ghazali, pronounced Sufi mysticism acceptable and thereby gave Islam one of its most powerful missionizing elements as well as another set of 'gate-watchers.' In other areas of the Muslim world the Shi'ah imams and their interpreters were the 'gate-watchers.' They too spoke out on behalf of what was and was not acceptable to Islam. As with the Chinese literati, these 'gate-watchers' differed among themselves as to what was orthodox and what was heretical, what was permissible and what was forbidden. But the similarity they exhibited from Spain to the Philippines through the centuries derived from the fact that they referred back to many of the same teachings and traditions, accepted the same view of the world (e.g., success in history is the validation of revelation), and absorbed the same general image of themselves.[29]

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[28] For a description of the literatis' self-image about 1800, see Arthur F. Wright, "The Study of Chinese Civilization," The Journal of the History of Ideas, XXI (1960), pp. 236-237.

Likewise in the Christian world the church councils and the papacy in western Europe and the metropolitans in eastern Europe and the Near East have served as the 'gate-watchers' in matters of faith and morals. They could, and at times did, reverse earlier decisions as to what was admissible and what was prohibited (e.g., in the 13th century some of St. Thomas Aquinas' teachings were prohibited by two archbishops of Canterbury; whereas in the 14th century he was canonized and in the 19th and 20th centuries his doctrine was officially endorsed by two encyclicals). These 'gate-watchers' decided whether monastic orders were heretical or acceptable to the Christian Church and what customs of dress or family life Catholic missionaries could abandon as peripheral and what they had to preach as fundamental to Christian teaching. Protestantism introduced a new series of 'gate-watchers' into western Europe, with loyalty still to the same basic scriptures and eschatology. Today the various ecumenical and Vatican councils reflect both the vigor and the relevance of these 'gate-watchers' to contemporary Christendom.

In the relatively recent past (historically speaking) a different brand of 'gate-watcher' has appeared, starting with the European 'enlightenment.' These 'gate-watchers' did not subscribe to any ultimate analects or scriptures. To them, human reason was the final arbiter of what is and is not true, and what is and is not moral. If human reason contradicts the teachings of the Church, the Shari'a, or the analects, then they are at fault--not human reason. It is at this point, it seems to me, that one begins to get the 'Western civilization' mentioned by contemporary writers. The geographical term 'Western' is unfortunate, since members of this civilization do not necessarily belong to the geographical 'West,' even though Western Europe after a certain point in its history did afford them an unusual degree of non-harassment. A more appropriate term might be the 'rationalist' civilization (in both the complimentary and uncomplimentary sense of the word 'rationalist') or the 'secular' civilization (in that it does not derive its ultimate justification from any religious scriptures). The 'gate-watchers' of this civilization are a diffuse set of so-called 'intellectuals,' the determiners of taste, the enunciators of laws, the critics of learning. The scenes of their activity are not the religious councils so much as they are the universities, the policy boards, the courts of law, and the legislative chambers.

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[29] For a further discussion see Gustave E. von Grunebaum, Modern Islam, the Search for Cultural Identity, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962, especially chap. 3, "An Analysis of Islamic Civilization and Cultural Anthropology."

Sharp differences of opinion often exist among these intellectuals as to what is and is not 'reasonable.' Currently the most dramatic differences are between the Marxists and non-Marxists. It is possible that in the future even more dramatic differences will develop between different sets of Marxists.

The fact that, in the secular civilization, appeal is made to reason does not mean that the values, beliefs, or practices endorsed actually _are_ reasonable (an error made by such believers in human progress as Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer). Even if the world contained Alfred Weber's and Karl Mannheim's freischwebende Intelligenz ('socially unattached intelligentsia') who seek truth with utter objectivity, human knowledge is too fragmentary and incomplete for one to be sure that the _apparently_ reasonable act actually _is_ reasonable. Since the world lacks this freischwebende Intelligenz (and contains instead mere mortals whose class and national loyalities, perceptual blind spots, psychic vested interests, and complex unconscious motives distort their view of reality), we can be even more certain that there is a gap between what people claim is reasonable and what really is reasonable in some existential sense. Nonetheless, in the secular civilization the ultimate _appeal_ is to 'objective fact' or 'reason', even if the end result can hardly be called reasonable.

Over the years, this secular civilization has survived through a policy of coexistence with other civilizations. At times there have been jurisdictional disputes when the 'gate-watchers' of the secular civilization and some other civilization have differed in their judgment as to whose area of concern a particular subject is. But just as 'civilization' implies by definition the coexistence of itself and cultures within it, so the secular civilization has shown itself able to coexist with Confucian, Muslim, Christian, Jewish,[30] and Hindu civilizations--to mention only a few. The coexistence of the secular civilization and some of the older civilizations poses some of the most exciting intellectual challenges of our day. We shall have occasion to return to the concept of a secular civilization when we deal below with the question: Is India a civilization?

II. Civilizations and Their 'Laws'

One of the reasons men have studied 'civilizations' has been to try to predict the future of our own civilization. After all, if civilizations are a generic type, and previous civilizations have done something at a particular point in their development, our civilization can be expected to do the same thing when it reaches the same point. The hazardous assumption here (i.e., that civilizations are generic types) hardly needs underscoring. Furthermore, some of the more eminent theorizers on civilization have identified as few as eight, twelve, or twenty-one civilizations from which to draw their propositions. This leaves them with an embarrassingly small number of units from which to generalize. It would be as if a political scientist were to try answering the question: "How do governments handle internal political crises?" on the basis of eight, twelve, or twenty-one case studies. Even after he has drawn his conclusions, he will have little confidence that his findings will hold in the ninth, thirteenth, or twenty-second case.

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[30] Judaism as it has existed since the days of the Great Dispersion qualifies as a 'civilization' according to our definition.

Nonetheless, since this is part of our own heritage of 'thinking about civilization,' let us extract from their writings some of the 'laws' men have proposed as applicable to civilizations.

Among Danilevsky's 'laws' of civilization were the following:

1. Political independence is a necessary precondition for the emergence of a people's civilization. Without political independence there can be no civilization.

2. The basic principles of one civilization cannot be transmitted to the people of another. There can be no real mixing of cultures.

3. A civilization's period of blossoming and fruitbearing is relatively short. The civilization then becomes exhausted once and for all.

The American Brooks Adams in his The Law of Civilization and Decay (1895, 1896) proposes at least a fragment of a 'law' of civilization:

1. The emotional and spiritual 'energy' accumulated by man is dissipated in economic competition. Therefore the establishment of economic competition brings about disintegration and exhaustion of a civilization.

Spengler holds that the 'laws' governing the emergence and destiny of a High Culture are a mystery. On the highest level, they can only be described, not explained. His descriptions include the following:

1. Every High Culture has its childhood, youth, manhood, and old age.

2. In its old age (i.e., its civilization stage), every High Culture experiences a 'spell of second religiosity' that marks the end of its life course.

On a more specific level, Spengler provides reasons why particular vigorous institutions in a High Culture undergo a metamorphosis during the civilization stage and contribute ultimately to the death of that High Culture. For example:

3. The power of money means that the leadership of a democracy, provided

initially by responsible, noble intellects, passes in time to the money-makers, who also control the media. Soon the money-makers control the political thoughts of the people as well. They generate popular support for the establishment of Caesars, and Caesarism is the final phase of civilization. According to Spengler, "Through money, democracy becomes its own destroyer, after money has destroyed intellect."

Toynbee enunciates an elaborate set of 'laws' of civilization including the following:

1. A civilization cannot emerge until a given society contains a creative minority in an environment that is neither too unfavorable nor too favorable.

2. After initial successes, the creative minority fails to respond successfully to new challenges and begins to 'rest on its oars;' thereby losing its charismatic quality and its majority following. It increasingly resorts to force to control the internal and external proletariat, creating in the process a 'universal state.'

3. In the presence of this 'universal state,' the internal proletariat secede from the dominant (no longer creative) minority and establish a universal church. This universal church may provide a bridge for a new civilization 'apparented' by and 'affiliated' with the old one.

4. In the presence of this same 'universal state,' the external proletariat stop striving to be incorporated into the civilization and turn to attack it.

5. Together, the internal proletariat and the external proletariat bring about the end of that civilization.

Sorokin, like Spengler, is unwilling to answer the question, "Why do cultures change?" However, he does maintain that supersystems are in continual motion from 'sensate' to 'ideational' and back to 'sensate.' Furthermore, this same motion occurs in more specific cultural systems (language, philosophy, religion, the fine arts, etc.). Thus one can predict that religion in a country like Egypt or Indonesia will become increasingly 'sensate' as that country undergoes 'modernization.'

A. L. Kroeber sets forth a number of generalizations or 'laws' of civilization:

1. No subject and exploited group of peoples contributes significantly to a major burst of civilization.

2. Civilizations accumulate culture content in a manner "uniformizing rather than differentiating" one civilization and another.

3. Civilizations 'progress' in the sense of acquiring greater mastery of their environment, a larger size of their cohesive social unit, and in the degree to which they recognize 'reality' (as opposed to non-reality, superstition, mysticism, etc.).

4. The different styles within a civilization become increasingly consistent as they remain associated with each other.

5. Not every civilization has a simple history of rise and fall. In their development they may "pause, take stock, look around, and make a fresh start with reconstituted patterns."

6. "Great men notoriously cluster in time and place." They can appear "only while great patterns are in the shaping during the life history of a civilization."

7. Civilizations die as a result of the exhaustion of the potentialities in their superstyle, the most significant part of a civilization.

And Philip Bagby, after tracing the development of Greek and Western European civilizations and finding that they "follow closely similar courses of development and this for more than a thousand years," concludes that it is "likely that they will continue to resemble each other fairly closely" and predicts on this basis that:

1. Nations whose culture is predominantly Western European will eventually realize some form of political unity.

2. A common culture suitable for mass-consumption will become predominant in Western Europe.

3. Western Europe will undergo a partial return to religion, in which there will be a stable balance between faith and reason, similar to the revival of religion under the Caesars.

Danilevsky, Spengler, Toynbee, Sorokin, and Bagby developed their 'laws' of civilization largely on the basis of the West's experience. By the time they examined the histories of Babylon, China, or India, they were often looking for facts to support their propositions rather than for facts that contradicted (and therefore further complicated) their 'laws.'

Even a cursory examination of these 'laws' will reveal how inapplicable some of them are to India. Take, for example, Spengler's 'law' of Caesarism and Toynbee's of the universal state. Both 'laws' were derived from Roman history where the advent of the Caesars marked the end of creativity and the beginning of the decline and fall. Is there anything really analogous in India? In his own work, Toynbee identifies the universal state of the Hindus to be the Mughul raj and the British raj. The differences between the emperor of Rome (emerging from internal political forces) and the Mughul and British raj in India (established by 'outside' peoples) are great indeed. One fears that history is being arranged to fit categories, rather than categories developed to describe history. Furthermore, there has yet to be a 'fall' of Hinduism that corresponds to the fall of Greek and Roman civilization.

Or take Kroeber's law that civilizations 'progress' in the degree to which they recognize 'reality' (as opposed to non-reality, superstition, mysticism, etc.). Here again India provides an apparent exception. In the 6th century B.C.

Buddhism and Upaniṣadic Hinduism were both flourishing--each with a rather lofty set of principles, and Buddhism especially with a minimum of mysticism and superstition. From then on the process was one of gradually *increasing* mysticism and superstition. Within Buddhism this was characterized first by Mahāyāna Buddhism, with its theism, holy places, and visionary trance-experiences, and later by Vajrayāna ("Vehicle of the Thunderbolt") Buddhism, and its tantric rites (including sexual symbols and rites), goddesses, and occultism. Upaniṣadic Hinduism underwent the same general process, with the inclusion of a vast pantheon of gods and goddesses, Śāktaism, practices such as midnight burning-ground rites, prohibitions against travel, advocacy of widow suicide, child marriage, and so on. If Kroeber's 'law' of reality recognition holds, then someone will have to develop at least another law to explain why the effects of the first law were so dramatically cancelled during the first fourteen centuries of Buddhism's and Upaniṣadic Hinduism's existence.

On the other hand, one can find support within India's case for certain other 'laws' proposed by Western theorists. Take Kroeber's 'law' that the different styles within a civilization become increasingly consistent as they remain associated with each other. The ultimate incorporation of Buddhist 'heterodox' elements into Hindu orthodoxy might be a case in point, with Hinduism's acceptance of the principles of ahiṃsā (non-injury to living things), vegetarianism, and eventual incorporation of Buddha himself as the ninth avatāra (incarnation) of Lord Viṣṇu, in fact, Hinduism's eventual acceptance of Buddhism as part of itself.

There is no way of telling in advance which of the proposed 'laws' of civilization hold and which do not in the Indian case. Each 'law' will have to be tested in the light of historic evidence.

III. The Study of Indian Civilization

When one speaks of Hindu civilization, one speaks of a phenomenon with considerable continuity, an impressive body of documents, an identifiable set of brāhmaṇical 'gate-watchers' and fairly clear boundaries over the centuries. Within this civilization is an impressive continuity of factors stretching back to factors present in India before what we think of as the formal establishment of Hindu civilization. Thus from the people of the Indus valley dating approximately 2500 - 1500 B.C. (and their descendents) may come phallic worship, the swastika symbol, hybrid animals, a three-faced anthropomorphic predecessor of Śiva, ritual ablutions, yoga, and the belief that man, through austerities, can 'control' the gods and make demands on them that they cannot refuse. From the early Āryan-speaking invaders come the Vedic hymns (roughly 1500 - 100 B.C.), the importance of sacrifice, the high value of the cow, the patriarchal joint family, a special view of truth that sees it as invested with a kind of magic power, Ṛta and the concept of cosmic order and process, varṇa and the concept of divinely-established social ranks, and the Sanskrit language.

Half a millenium later, the 'heterodox' Jains and Buddhists introduced organized asceticism and opposition to priests, sacrifices, and social ranks (which set the stage for the Hindu Śaṅkara's monasticism fifteen centuries later as well as for the bhakti movements). The Jains and Buddhists advocated the doctrines of ahiṃsā (non-injury to living things) and vegetarianism. The concepts of karma and rebirth emerge from the millieu of Jainism and Buddhism, although whether they originated from the Vedic stream or the 'anti-Vedic' stream remains a topic of scholarly debate.

By about the time of Christ, the composers of the Śāstras had elaborated on the four varṇas, the four stages of life (āśramas), the four ends of man (dharma, artha, kāma, and mokṣa), the importance of the śrāddha rites to ancestors, and the concept of ritual pollution. The next few centuries saw the increasing spread of bhakti (devotion) as the pathway to release, the emergence of Śiva, Viṣṇu, and their female counterparts (Śaktis) in the divine pantheon, and the elaboration of the caste system with its complex rules of marriage, dining, and purification. By now these phenomena extended from the 'land of the Āryas' (the region of the Ganges and Jamnā rivers) to the southern tip of India, and from Assam on the east to Sindh on the west.

By the medieval period, Buddhism had essentially been reabsorbed into Hinduism, along with monasticism and the doctrines of vegetarianism and ahiṃsā. Furthermore, the Hindu world was becoming increasingly bound together by a set of pilgrimage places of mythical and ethical importance. These pilgrimage places themselves were an interesting reflection of the eclectic quality of Hindu civilization. Different sites had been and continued to be the monopolies of different groups of priests, the Prāgvāls in Allahabad, the Rāmkuṇḍiās in Nasik, the Delasths at Pandharpur, etc. Were these men at one time the priests of separate 'little traditions' who were incorporated into the Hindu 'great tradition' and given the appelation of brāhmaṇs? Or were they originally hired from a broader group of brāhmaṇs to staff these sites when they were built? These are typical of the sorts of questions remaining to be explored.

Throughout Hinduism's growth, evolution, and accretion one frequently (though not exclusively) sees the stimulus coming from outside rather than inside the 'great tradition.' The Buddhist Jataka tales are an effort by the 'gate-watchers' to incorporate outside folk elements into their own teaching. So are the epic tales of the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*, certain gnomic verses, many of the major (and most of the minor) deities, Śakti, tantrism, bhakti, and the already-mentioned pilgrimage places.

This changing content of Hindu civilization has at times generated controversies of definition. Recently the Indian sociologist M. N. Srinivas used the term 'Sanskritization' to describe the process whereby a lower caste attempts to raise its status in the caste hierarchy by adopting certain practices of brāhmaṇs such as vegetarianism, teetotalism, adding elements of brāhmaṇical ritual, and worshiping Sanskritic deities such as Viṣṇu and Śiva or at least labeling their local gods and godlings incarnations of Sanskritic deities.[31] Srinivas' use of the term "Sanskritization" has not gone unchallenged. J. F. Staal notes that the term has been applied to phenomena that existed in India *before* users of Sanskrit entered the subcontinent, or to phenomena that were introduced in *opposition* to the tradition of the Sanskrit-bearing brāhmaṇs. He questions whether the term adds clarification or confusion.[32] Louis Renou agrees that little of what passes today as Hinduism came into India with the original Āryan speakers, "... a few functional gods (as it is the fashion to describe them), the soma cult and the rudiments of a social system..."[33] Indirectly, Staal and Renou make an eloquent point: a civilization at one moment is not the same as it is at another moment in its history. *Today* the orthodox Sanskrit-knowing brāhmaṇs *do* advocate vegetarianism, teetotalism, and the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu, even though they did not do so in earlier centuries.

Through its long history, when Hindu civilization met non-Hindu traditions, the 'gate-watchers' could either adopt the traditions and its followers into Hinduism and the caste hierarchy, or they could reject the traditions and pronounce their followers 'untouchable' and 'polluted.' This process worked successfully for centuries. Then Hinduism met Islam, a civilization elaborately defined like itself, with its own group of sophisticated gate-watchers, and with a new ingredient, politico-military power. Had demographic factors been different, Hinduism might have suffered the fate of Zoroastrianism in the Middle East. However, population size protected it. In time a Hindu-Muslim modus vivendi developed--punctured periodically by acts of fanaticism, but generally followed. On the borders of the two civilizations, interesting and even pleasing syntheses developed--in art, architecture, dance and music. Muslim and Hindu mystics discovered areas of contact and communication. A few syncretist cults developed (e.g., the Kabīr Panthis and the Sikhs); occasionally devotees of both religions worshiped the same Hindu or Muslim saint and sometimes the groups took part in each other's festivals. But on fundamental points, there was very little 'give.' The differences were too immense and the gate-watchers too jealous.

In its confrontation with Christian Europe, Hindu civilization met a second non-assimilable civilization. As with Islam, the foreigners contained an elaborate and formally enunciated heritage and their 'gate-watchers' inhibitd any absorptive processes. Once more the arts effected successful compromise: especially literature, and groups such as the Brahmo Samaj participated in intr-civilization dialogue. But again, on fundamental points there was very little 'give.'

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[31] M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of South India*, New York: Asia Publishing House, 1965, first ed., 1952, pp. 30, 214-215, 226-228.

[32] J. F. Staal, "Sanskrit and Sanskritization," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXIII, 3 (May, 1963), pp. 261-275.

[33] Louis Renou, *Religions of Ancient India*, New York: DeGraff, 1953, pp. 47-48.

Until now I have tried to avoid using the term 'Indian civilizaion.' Following our definition, India has provided the geographical boundary wherein different civilizations evolved, met, assimilated elements from each others' perphery, and developed a degree of tolerance for each other. But the great cultun was not an Indian culture and the 'gate-watchers' were not 'Indian' gate-watchers. They were Hindu or Muslim or Buddhist or Christian 'gate-watchers.' Their highestloyalties were to groups within India or groups that spread beyond India—but not tohe group defined by India's borders.

Are there any factors that set off India, as India, from its neihbors? Here and there one can find items for which an arguable case can be made: India's populations share enough physical characteristics in common so that a ase can be made for their genetic distinctness. In most Indian languages there is m form of 'you' addressed to an equal. The pronoun used reflects either superiorit or inferiority.[34] Most Indian written languages (with the notable exception of Urdi) can trace their ancestry to the early Brahmi script; in their vocabularies, they shre words borrowed from Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and English. There are broad similarities of musical style (or at least of 'high' musical style) throughout India; musicans refer to the Nāṭyaśāstra and Saṅgītaratnākara texts, the rāgas and improvisatins and drummers throughout India 'speak' the sounds of their drums. There is widespread awareness in India, even on the part of Muslims, Buddhists, and Christians, of the major tales and festivals related to the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, ard some of the Puranas. And small boys throughout India play a game called vaiously chadagudu, kabadi, and hututu.

But are these enough to form a cultural unity? Can they provide the term 'Indian civilization' with a 'genuine' referent? I doubt it, at bast not as we have defined 'civilization.'

The only referent for 'Indian civilization' consistent with or definition might be a phenomenon that has emerged, within the past century and a half, involving 'gate-watchers' from differing traditions trying to define India and Indian culture, men like the Christian Henry Derozio, the Parsi Dadabhai Naorji, the Muslim Maulana Azad, and the Hindu Rammohun Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, and Jawaharlal Nehru. As with the 'enlightenment' in Europe, these 'gate-watchers' have been developing a 'secular civilization,' where the ultimate authority is reason (whether or not that reason is empirically 'reasonable'), where the ultimate reference group is India, inclusive of her differing civilizations, and where the 'gate-watchers' are other intellectuals in India and abroad. What is going on in India today is going on elsewhere, most noticeably in those countries in Asia and Africa experiencing the painful exhilaration of political freedom for the first time. They too have mixtures of civilizations and cultures; they too face the problem of defining who they were and who they now are. It is quite possible that when historians look back on the latter half of the twentieth century, they will see the emergence of 'Indian civilization' as one portion of a more general international secular civilization, a civilization in which the various parts retain their autonomy but in which they also borrow from, transmit to, and thereby enrich each other.

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[34] This, of course, is not unique to Indian languages.

CHAPTER XII

THE PEOPLES OF INDIA

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THE PEOPLES OF INDIA

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THE PEOPLES OF INDIA

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I. The Problem of 'Race' in India

The population of India, taken as a whole, exhibits a range of physical characteristics that distinguishes it from the populations of other parts of Asia. Some investigators,[1] in fact, have concluded that India's peoples can be considered a distinct 'race'. Their conclusion, unfortunately, is apt to be misinterpreted, for the term 'race' conveys a meaning in common usage that differs from its meaning to specialists in Human Biology and Physical Anthropology.

'Race', using visible criteria such as stature, body build, and skin color, has been a concern for centuries in India and has been combined with cultural characteristics to distinguish 'jāti' or 'species' of men. Some[2] have thought race, with its associated restrictions on intermarriage, interdining, and other forms of social interaction, to be important in the development of caste. Yet actually we know very little about 'race' in India. Older 'scientific' studies, resting on extensive measurements of nasal indices, cranial indices, etc., resulted in classifications that were seldom satisfactory. Modern studies, based on blood typing and attempted defining of 'breeding group' boundaries, have not yet proved much better. In fact, most modern studies implicitly (if not explicitly) tend either to begin from or refer back to some of the older classifications. We shall, therefore, begin by examining the more frequently cited traditional views of 'races' in India and then shall contrast them with findings derived from more modern techniques.

A. The 'Traditional' Anthropological View of 'Races' in India

When we speak of 'tradition' here, we are referring to the picture of racial distribution derived from the physical anthropology of a 'pre-genetic' period. Such a picture was drawn from measurement and comparison of features like skin-eye-hair color, hair form and texture, thickness of lips, eye shape, body height, arm and leg length, chest breadth, skull shape, depth of the root of the nose, nasal width, amount of projection of the jaw, and projection of brow-ridges. Various ratios between the different measurements were developed such as the cephalic index (ratio of length and breadth of head) and the nasal index (ratio of breadth and length of nose). The stimulus for such measurements was, of course, the desire to find objective scales along which the various visible groups might be placed, eliminating (it was hoped) the less objective criteria of language, dress, effect of environment, or historical speculation on origins.

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[1] For example, William C. Boyd, Genetics and the Races of Man, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1950.

[2] See Nripendra K. Dutt, Origin and Growth of Caste in India, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1931; and G. S. Ghurye, Caste and Class in India, Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 2nd ed., 1957.

As far as India was concerned, it was known from cultural and historical sources that there were probably at least two distinct 'original' groups of Indian inhabitants. Early Indian scriptures describe the meeting of Aryans and non-Aryans and through simple observation one can distinguish between the most 'primitive' tribals and the high-caste Hindus (particularly in northwestern India). By the 1930's enough archaeological evidence had accumulated to confirm some elements of the scriptures. Even archaeological material of the earliest periods showed that India had been a mixing ground for various cultures. For example, two different tool traditions were discovered, the Euro-African tool types of 'paleolithic' varieties, and tool types generally considered to be Southeast Asian in origin. Such evidence suggested at least two migrations and two points of entry.

But little was (or is today) known of the people who made and/or brought these tool types to India. Skeletal material was (and is) relatively meagre. What little material did exist was contradictory in its nature, suggesting at best a considerably mixed population at a period between 3000 and 1500 B.C. in the northwestern part of India. The nature of the mixture was and is controversial. Interpretation depended much upon whose evaluation of the skeletal evidence was accepted, and in turn, upon the particular authority's concepts of the early racial varieties in India at that time. Such concepts were 'fixed' primarily on the basis of measurements of living populations and assumptions of stability of physical characteristics (now known to be erroneous) long before the 1946 discovery of the Harappa cemetery with over fifty graves.

The first attempt to measure Indian population samples by Western scientific methods was undertaken by Sir Herbert Risley in connection with the Indian Census of 1901. From material gathered under extremely difficult conditions of standardization (some have suggested, in fact, that his measurements were only a little better than impressionistic observations would have been), Risley distinguished seven distinct types. It is apparent from the terms he chose that he was influenced by considerations of language, history, and geographic distribution as well as purely genetic factors. He distinguishes (implicitly) three basic varieties within India, 'Aryan,' Dravidian, and Mongoloid, and accounts for others by reference to invading groups of Central Asians, i.e., Scyths (Huns) and Turkic populations. Out of these basic elements, Risley composes his existing populations. With the exception of 'Dravidians' and Mongoloids, Risley considers all other groups to be the result of intermixture, or so one must assume from his terminology (See Figure 1).

Behind Risley's scheme, one can see the even older and more thoroughly established classification of men into three (or four) major varieties: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, Negroid (and Australoid, if four). Standard descriptions of these varieties and their subtypes may be found in most introductory texts in Anthropology. There is no doubt that varieties of Caucasoid and Mongoloid populations are present in India, varieties that find their parallels in areas contiguous to the Indian borders and are historically traceable to population movements into and within India. Thus Risley's problem, and the problem for all subsequent investigators, was to account for types in the Indian population that exhibit characteristics not easily derivable from mixtures of various assumed 'typical' Caucasoid varieties alone, or Caucasoid-Mongoloid mixtures. In this context, the problem becomes basically one of accounting for physical types most frequently represented among the tribal populations (particularly in South India and the Chota Nagpur Plateau) and among the so-called 'Dravidians.'

Risley accepted the Dravidians as a basic type, and postulated a Dravidian intermixture with all other types except the Turko-Iranian (a late population in India in any case and, by Risley's definition, confined primarily to Baluchistan and the N. W. Frontier area).

The Risley classification found widespread use, and with occasional modification was found in the literature on Indian peoples until the 1930's. By then, other authors were impressed by characteristics of tribal populations that differed from the Risleyan 'Dravidian' sufficiently to call for another category. These characteristics were reminiscent of the classic Vedic descriptions for the populations the Aryans encountered when entering India: black-skinned, noseless or flat-nosed, and evil-tongued. Such characteristics, coupled with the demonstration of a linguistic affinity of certain tribals with the so-called Austronesian or Austric language family (extending through Southeast Asian groups into the Pacific) argued for a 'Pre-Dravidian' population. Physical similarities with the Veddah of Ceylon, Melanesians, Australian aborigines, and others eventually led to the agreement that at least two elements entered into the making of the 'Dravidian' type, viz: a Caucasoid and an 'X'. Controversy over the nature of this 'X' type has not ended.

In order to clarify the question, J. H. Hutton continued the attempt begun by Risley. He employed workers for the Census to collect additional data under the directorship of Dr. B. S. Guha. From Guha's material, Hutton developed a classification that postulated a series of 'invasions' of India, an idea that Dr. Guha was later to expand into a classification most frequently met in the literature today (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Comparison of Racial Classification by Area

Area:	H. H. Risley	B. S. Guha	J. H. Hutton
1. Hills in Kerala (Travancore-Cochin)	Dravidian	Negrito (traces) Australoid (traces)	Negrito
2. Tribal areas of Central and South India	Dravidian	Australoids	Australoids
3. South India and Northern (lower castes)	Dravidian	Mediterranean (Paleo)	Australoid (traces)
4. North India (dominant over area)	Āryo-Dravidian	Mediterranean (Indus)	--
5. Coastal Orissā Bengāl	Mongolo-Dravidian	Mediterranean; Mongoloid	--
6. Himālayan fringe Assam	Mongoloid	Mongoloids (2 varieties)	Mongoloid Negrito (traces)
7. Punjāb, Sind, Rājasthān, W. Uttar Pradesh	Āryo-Dravidian Indo-Āryan Scytho-Dravidian (traces)	Oriental (Semitic) type	--
8. S. Baluchistān, Sind, Kathiāwār, Gujarāt, Mahārāshtra	Scytho-Dravidian Indo-Āryan Turko-Iranian	Alpinoid-Dinarics	Alpines
9. Kashmīr and N. W. India	Indo-Āryan	Nordic	

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Guha, Biraja Sankar, "The Racial Affinities of the Peoples of India," Census of India, 1931, vol. I, Calcutta: Census Commissioner, 1933, part 3, passim.

Hutton, John Henry (ed.), "Ethnographical notes by various authors," Census of India, 1931, vol. I, Calcutta: Census Commissioner, 1933, part 3, passim.

Risley, Herbert Hope, "India: Ethnographic Appendices," Census of India, 1901, vol. I, Calcutta: Census Commissioner, 1903, part 3, passim.

Risley, Herbert Hope, The People of India, London: W. Thacker, 1915, 2nd ed., passim.

The Hutton-Guha schemes assume an early movement of a Negroid/Negrito ('pigmy Negro') type into India in the distant past. They go on to propose that as a group, this element was absorbed physically by a later invasion of an Australoid or 'Proto-Australoid' population, which, while dark skinned and with flat, wide noses, was related to a Mediterranean race of ancient Caucasoid variety. This mixed Negrito/Australoid type was followed by three waves of 'Mediterraneans' --one a long-headed, dark, slight, medium-statured population (Palaeo-Mediterranean); the second a Mediterranean variety of 'Indus Valley' type, lighter and taller than the first, but still dark-skinned; and finally a wave of Oriental Mediterraneans of Semitic variety, fairer than the preceding. Such Mediterraneans, with perhaps some later intermixture with Australoid-Negrito groups gave rise to the Dravidian varieties of South India. These were succeeded by the lighter Caucasoids, the Western Brachycephals (Guha's terminology) comprising an Alpinoid, a Dinaric, and an Armenoid variety, and the Nordics of two varieties (identified by Hutton as the Vedic Aryans).

Guha (and Hutton) assumed that cephalic index (ratio of length of head to breadth) was a significant measure, and that the distribution of long-headedness (dolicocephaly) and round-headedness (brachycephaly), when combined with additional data on other physical characteristics, was a key to identifying areas of basic racial types and of blend between types (see Figure 2). Guha placed Negritos, Western Brachycephals and the Tibeto-Mongoloids among the round-heads and the Australoids, Mediterraneans, Palaeo-Mongoloids and Nordics among the long-heads. The primary 'type' of India Dr. Guha traced to Palaeo-Mediterranean and Mediterranean, forming most of the population of the South and the lower classes of the North. Both Guha and Hutton assumed that in the various parts of India, combinations of these basic types developed into the population varieties of modern India (see Figure 1).

It should be recalled, at this point, that all physical classification schemes rested on a debatable assumption, i.e., that certain physical characteristics were genetically stable and persistent under variations of environment, breeding practices, diseases, etc. However, as research continued, it was discovered that anthropometric variables assumed to be immutable, were often susceptible to environmental influences. For example, differences were discovered between two generations of middle European derivation consisting of parents who migrated and their offspring born in the United States. Similar results were obtained from studies of Japanese who migrated to Hawaii and their Hawaiian-born children and between siblings born in Japan and in Hawaii. A diagnostic skull-shape used to distinguish an East European-West Asian population was recently shown to be culturally conditioned rather than genetic. Other intensive studies of growth patterns have demonstrated the effects of external factors on rates of growth and on correlations between stature and head shape. Dietary imbalances have been shown to affect hair color and texture, and vitamin deficiency or excess can change the growth and

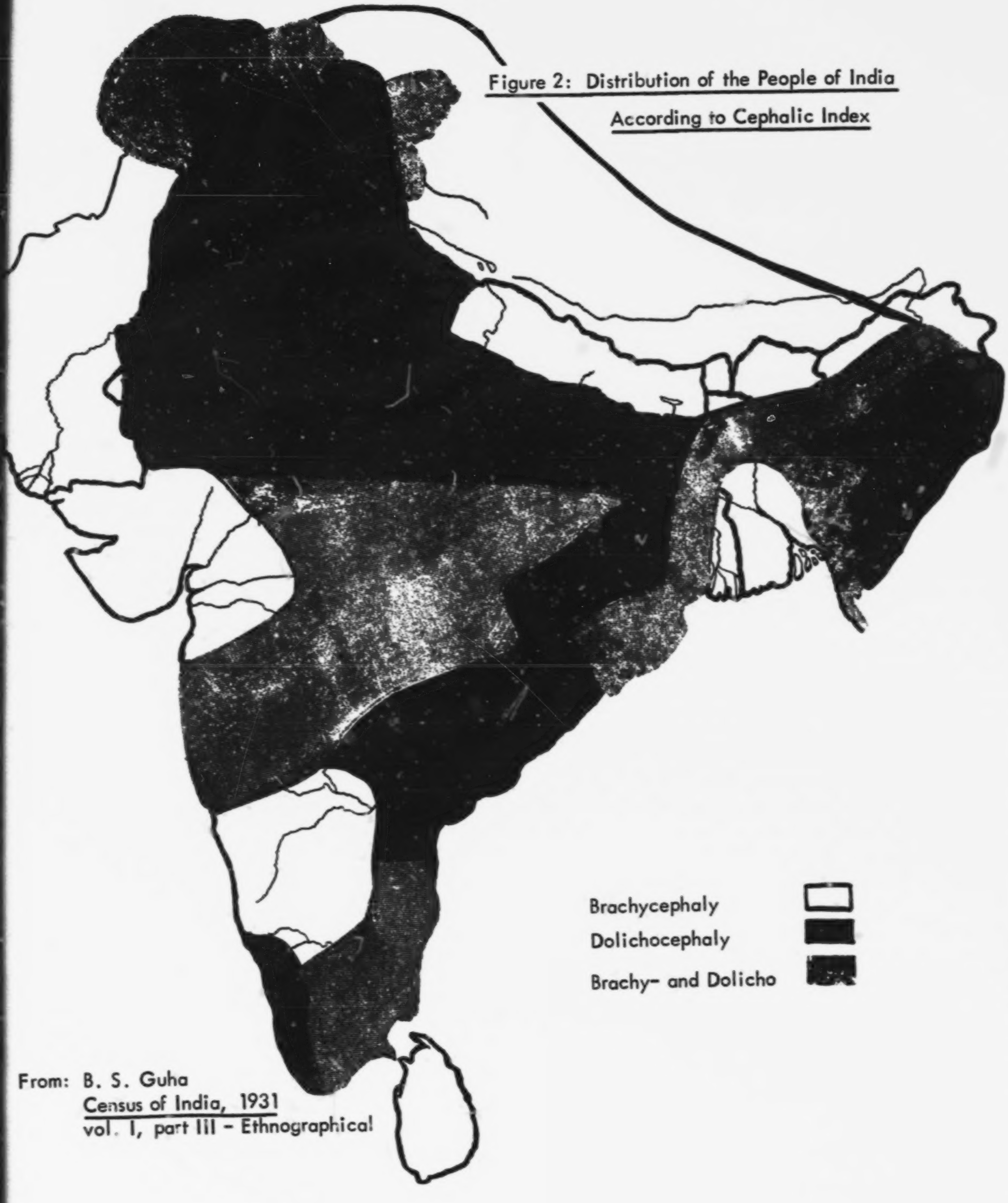
Brachycephaly ☐
Dolichocephaly ■
Brachy- and Dolicho ▨

Figure 2: Distribution of the People of India According to Cephalic Index

From: B. S. Guha
Census of India, 1931
vol. I, part III - Ethnographical

development of the very bones so convenient for anthropometric indices. These and similar findings led physical anthropologists to look for other objective attributes that might be more stable and more reliably subject to genetic laws.

B. Modern Classification Techniques, and 'Races' in India

It was within this context that physical anthropologists turned to serology and blood typing. Intensive study of blood groups throughout the world seemed to have located a genetic characteristic that was extremely stable (unlike so many other 'racial' characteristics). The use of gene frequencies, derived from examinations of blood groups in India, seemed to offer possibilities for more precise definitions of 'race' than previously existed. Hypotheses concerning the relatedness of various tribal groups in South India and the Chota Nagpur area might, it was thought, be firmly tested through the use of blood groups. The suggestions of B. S. Guha for example, that round-headedness in Bengal was the result of a Mongoloid admixture could be empirically supported or rejected, as could the hypotheses that the grey eyes of the Bombay Konkanastha brāhmaṇs and the pale blue or grey eyes of Syrian Christians on the Malabar Coast argue for derivation from a single population. If blood-group analysis could be shown to be effective and genetically firm, any number of potential links between intervening populations could be explored. The hope aroused by blood-grouping technique was high. One of the early proponents of genetic (read serological) classification of races said:

> ... The genetic classification of races is more objective, and better founded scientifically, than older classifications. The differences we find between races are inherited in a known manner, not influenced by environment, and thus pretty fundamental...[3]

This statement as to the greater objectivity and scientific basis of a serological classification system is irrefutable. There can be relatively little debate as to the presence or absence of the various known blood factors that have been tested within a particular population. However, even under optimum conditions, serological classification presents at least as many problems as anthropometric studies, in contrast to the more impressionistic, but much quicker, observational methods in vogue earlier. Like anthropometric research, serology requires the testing of a statistically significant proportion of the population in question. But in India the definition of the population may present one with even more problems than one encounters in other parts of the world. For example, for genetically significant information, one must be sure that he is dealing with a breeding group, or population, rather than with assorted individuals who happen to be found in a particular area. Sewell Wright sets a group of about two hundred individuals as a valid breeding group, but most typing in India and elsewhere deals either with a much smaller population or with vast numbers who obviously do not qualify as one breeding group. Further, while the more sophisticated Indian serological studies do try to deal with actual breeding groups by studying populations on the basis of caste affiliations, many of the earlier or less sophisticated analyses take samples within a city, state, or linguistic group and are little help in any analysis.

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[3] William C. Boyd, op. cit., p. 274.

Of course, inadequate sampling, technical errors and generalizations on the basis of scanty evidence are not limited to serological studies, but have affected the usefulness of anthropometric studies too. But the nature of the materials with which one must work and the conditions required for accurate serological investigations do present additional problems and possibilities of error. Some factors require the utilization of highly complex equipment that few laboratories even in the United States can afford. Some factors require immediate testing as soon as the blood has been drawn, with properly refrigerated reagents available on the spot. Improper storage of samples en route to the laboratory can result in error or render the tests totally useless. Furthermore, since the inception of serological studies in India, the number of factors detected and the variant forms of many factors have been constantly increasing. As one example, what was referred to as Type A in earlier studies may now be divided into at least two different subtypes whose distribution, if charted, would present a different picture than if they all represented the same Type A.

Perhaps even more shattering has been the increasing realization that serology has not, in fact, produced criteria '...not influenced by environment...' Mounting evidence suggests that significant correlations exist between the prevalence or scarcity of particular blood factors and the total environment in which they are found. The incompatability of an 'Rh-positive' male interbreeding with an 'Rh-negative' female is widely known. Although modern techniques of blood exchange have increased the chances of a viable offspring resulting from such unions, the effect of Rh factor incompatability on infant mortality is by no means absent. More recently, medicine has noted ABO incompatability and its effect on infant mortality. According to John Buettner-Janusch,

> ...The risk of fetal death is greater when there are differences in ABO blood type than when there are differences in Rh type. Thus a woman of blood type O is more likely to risk loss of a fetus than is an Rh negative woman...[4]

Differential selectivity of ABO groups does not stop with these incompatabilities and their significance in terms of blood group distributions. One physical anthropologist has stated bluntly that "...the ABO blood groups are so sensitive to some selective forces that their frequencies can change rapidly within a population..."[5] In terms of the total environment on the Indian subcontinent, the following data seem pertinent. For example, studies of epidemics of infant diarrhea in Europe have shown that, depending upon the particular organisms involved in each epidemic, the disease has taken its toll of bloodgroup A or bloodgroup O infants, in either event favoring the survival of the gene for B either by itself or in combination with A or O. In short, infants with AA, Ao, or OO blood groups have proven more susceptible to this cause of infant mortality than those who carried either BB, BO, or AB genes. When we note the high incidence of bloodgroup B among Anglo-Indians and Europeans who have resided in Calcutta and its environs for generations, we may be seeing a manifestation of this sort of selection.

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[4] John Buettner-Janusch, Origins of Man: Physical Anthropology, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966, p. 510.

Similarly, where smallpox is endemic one finds high ratios of blood groups A and B. Smallpox has exacted its most severe toll where it has been introduced to populations with exclusively or predominantly O blood group. Plague is also suspected to strike selectively, leaving high frequencies of A and B as opposed to A_2 and O.

If we go beyond the ABO and Rh factors we find other serological groups, such as the MNSs system, the S, C, E, etc. hemoglobins and so on that exist differentially in apparent response to selection by environment in the form of endemic illnesses like malaria and rheumatic diseases. We also find evidence of differential fertility (for example, Rh negative women bear more children over a longer period than their Rh positive sisters, as long as incompatability is not a factor; M and MN women have a lower incidence of sterility than N females). In some instances, as with the abnormal hemoglobins S, C and E, they are in themselves deleterious. An individual who is homozygous (SS) for such a hemoglobin may never live to pass on his genes to a new generation because of the severity of the associated genetic affliction of 'sickle-cell' anemia. However, his heterozygous brother (Ss) who has only one 'sickle-cell' hemoglobin and its normal allele seems to have an advantage in malarial regions that more than compensates for the harmful effect of the abnormal hemoglobin. In fact, he is more likely to be able to reproduce than is his 'normal' brother who is homozygous for the normal allele or ss, and also most apt to succumb to malarial infections.

In short, many of the serological frequencies are known to be directly responsive to environmental factors such as specific diseases; others are suspected of being so responsive to various diseases; and some are known to exhibit biochemical incompatabilities that minimize the possibilities of random distribution. With the increasing evidence for the 'adaptive' or selective function of serological groups, it becomes as hazardous to postulate original distributions and movements of populations on the basis of serological frequencies as it was to do so on the basis of anthropometric evidences.

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[5] Carleton S. Coon (with Edward Hunt, Jr.), The Living Races of Man, New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 1965, pp. 278-279.

> Certain blood group phenotypes change in frequency as one examines populations along some geographical route. One of the most notable cases is the change in frequency of the gene for blood group B, of the ABO blood group system, as one moves westward from Asiatic to European populations. More persons with blood group B are found in Asia than in Europe, and more B is found in eastern Europe than in western Europe. One common explanation has been that the B allele in Europe is due to mixture with Asiatic populations. Recurrent invasions of nomadic herders and warriors from the steppes of Central Asia are supposed to have brought the B allele to Europe. *There are several shaky assumptions behind the migration story, some of them fairly well hidden*. It is assumed that the B allele originated as a mutation in Asia and was carried into the European gene pool, which had no or few B alleles. It is also assumed *that the B alleles and the other alleles of the ABO system are unaffected* by natural selection. However today there is as much reason to accept relatively different adaptive values for the B allele in Europe and Asia as there is to state explicitly that the B allele is a result of migration from Asia. Since *the ABO blood groups are part of man's primate heritage*, it is improbable that the B allele is a mutation which occurred only in Asia and spread from there. *If B blood groups are the result of a mutant gene in Asiatic populations,* the relatively high frequency of the allele in such groups *must be the result of very potent selection in its favor*.[6]

Buettner-Janusch goes on to state that:

> ...Migration as an explanation for most gene frequencies in modern human groups is a *deus ex machina* kind of explanation. The role of selection in maintaining ABO blood group gene frequencies is still not fully appreciated because of the migrationist point of view. It has been far too easy to use the human blood groups as the traits on which to base our interpretations of the actual relationships between two or more human populations. They *are* useful in such studies, as we have shown. Migrations have occurred, and gene flow between populations is measurable. Migration theories, when first proposed, were tenable considering the amount of information available, but today we recognize that migration is probably not the primary process by which allele frequencies are shifted.[7]

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[6] John Buettner-Janusch, *op. cit.*, p. 419, our italics.

[7] *loc. cit.*, author's italics.

For the purposes of our general statement, most of our remarks have been confined to a small portion of the serological and other genetically distinct factors recognized today. To go into the 17+ blood groups for which means of detection are available, plus the genetic blood aberrancies already known, provides us with more than 94 billion possible combinations--far more than the total hominid population that has ever existed! How many of the factors found are adaptive in function is not known, but the evidence strongly suggests that there are differential survival values attached to most in terms of specific environmental pressures. For a listing of some of these factors, see John Buettner-Janusch, Origins of Man: Physical Anthropology, p. 469.

Having made these precautionary statements, we can turn to the serological studies done in India. The following data were obtained by Mary Fleming Mathur in 1963-64 from over a hundred reports on studies of the physical anthropology of India's populations. Most of these (114 out of 140) derived their data from serological and other genetic investigations. Mrs. Mathur notes:

> Because of lack of systematic collection, only an impressionistic survey of Indian blood groups is possible. Applied to the problem of racial distributions in India, the blood groups are tending to follow the lines laid down by impressionistic surveys of Indian races which combined language, culture, and a very selective form of anthropometry. At the present, the significance of this cannot be determined...[8]

One of the principal problems for systematic analysis of Indian genetic composition lies in the fact that only a few areas of the country have been intensively studied. Only the state of Maharashtra and its neighbor, Gujarat, have anything resembling adequate coverage. Even these two states do not have a thorough serological analysis, since the number of blood factors included were largely limited to the ABO blood groups. Some groups have been tested only for particular factors such as abnormal hemoglobins and even more rare blood factors. And much of India remains practically untouched. Fully a third of the studies are on tribal populations. Considering the total population of India and the small proportion of it that is tribal, the gaps in our present knowledge are readily apparent. At the moment we cannot stress too greatly the need to recognize Mrs. Mathur's 'impressionistic' summation as accurately describing the current information available. The data are sporadic in terms of distribution and content and any attempts at statistics can be only tentative.

From the data on hand there seems to be a tendency for a high B or AB to be found in areas considered malarial. Mathur notes, for instance:

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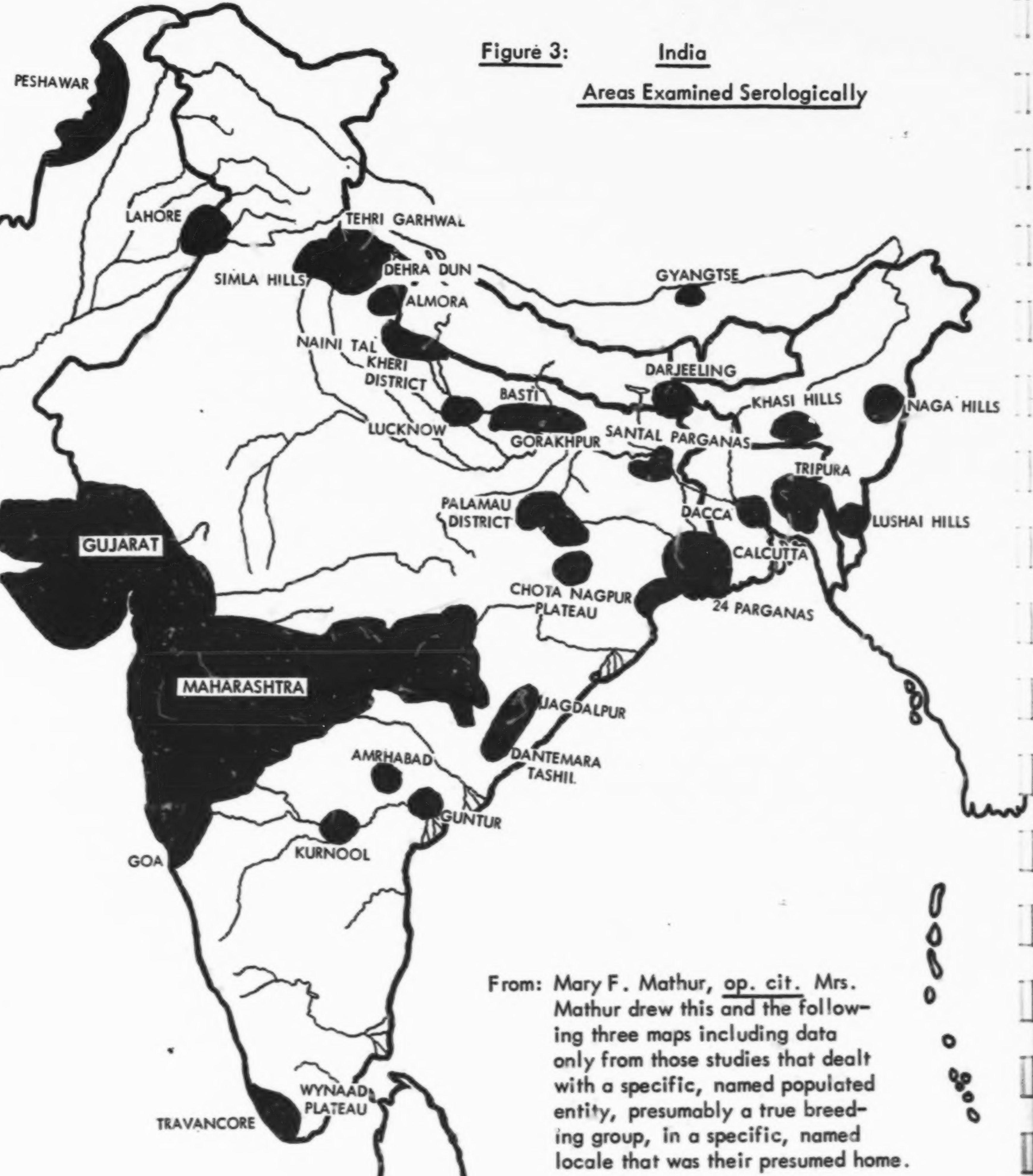
8. Mary F. Mathur, "Blood Groups of India as an Aspect of Race and Variation," unpublished manuscript, Madison, Wisconsin, Dept. of Anthropology, The University of Wisconsin, 1964, p. 1.

Figure 3: India

Areas Examined Serologically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DARJEELING
KHASI HILLS
NAGA HILLS
LUCKNOW
GORAKHPUR
SANTAL PARGANAS
TRIPURA
PALAMAU DISTRICT
DACCA
LUSHAI HILLS
GUJARAT
CALCUTTA
CHOTA NAGPUR PLATEAU
24 PARGANAS
MAHARASHTRA
JAGDALPUR
AMRHABAD
DANTEMARA TASHIL
GUNTUR
KURNOOL
GOA
WYNAAD PLATEAU
TRAVANCORE

From: Mary F. Mathur, op. cit. Mrs. Mathur drew this and the following three maps including data only from those studies that dealt with a specific, named populated entity, presumably a true breeding group, in a specific, named locale that was their presumed home.

> The Tharu in Tehri Gharwal (Majumdar, 1942), the region around Gorakhpur and Basti (Majumdar, 1943), the region around Calcutta and the 24-Parganas (Sarkar et al, 1953), and the region around Bombay and the Katthiawad (Sanghvi et al, 1949, 1950, Majumdar, 1942, 1948 [with Kishen]) are all high in B--as high in some regions as 40%.[9]

The significance of this in terms of whether or not B is malarial selective or is linked with some other factor that is so selected, or whether the selectivity factor may instead be not malarial, but incidental to it, remains uncertain. No factors other than Rh have been tested in 24-Parganas, the Tharu region, or Gorakhpur-Basti, although these regions have been recognized as being heavily malarial. Among at least some of the tribal population of Maharashtra some evidence for the presence of abnormal hemoglobins is available.

Dronamraju et al. found an exceptionally low frequency of A in Vizagapatam (12.4% in Hindus),[10] whereas Clegg et al. found an exceptionally high frequency of the same gene in Baltistan.[11] Figures 4, 5, and 6 present the ABO blood group distributions as indicated in the present material.

While Blood Group B was found to be generally high in the area around Calcutta, one fascinating finding was its exceptionally high frequency among Europeans resident in Calcutta. This incidence is far greater than is to be found in the countries from whence they came. The Anglo-Indians also seem to be somewhat higher in B than would be expected. Their mean exceeds that between the British and the Calcutta Hindu population--even of the lower castes from which most of the Indian parents were drawn.[12] Whether or not this is a result of a selective advantage for B in this area because of malaria (or infant diarrhea as postulated earlier) cannot be ascertained with the avaliable material.

By contrast, although in some parts of Europe there seem to be statistically significant correlations between peptic ulcer and the ABO blood groups, no such correlations were found in Calcutta in the only study of this type.[13] This represents

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[9] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[10] K.R. Dronamraju, P. Meerakhan, and V. V. Narayan Murty, *Man*, 1961.

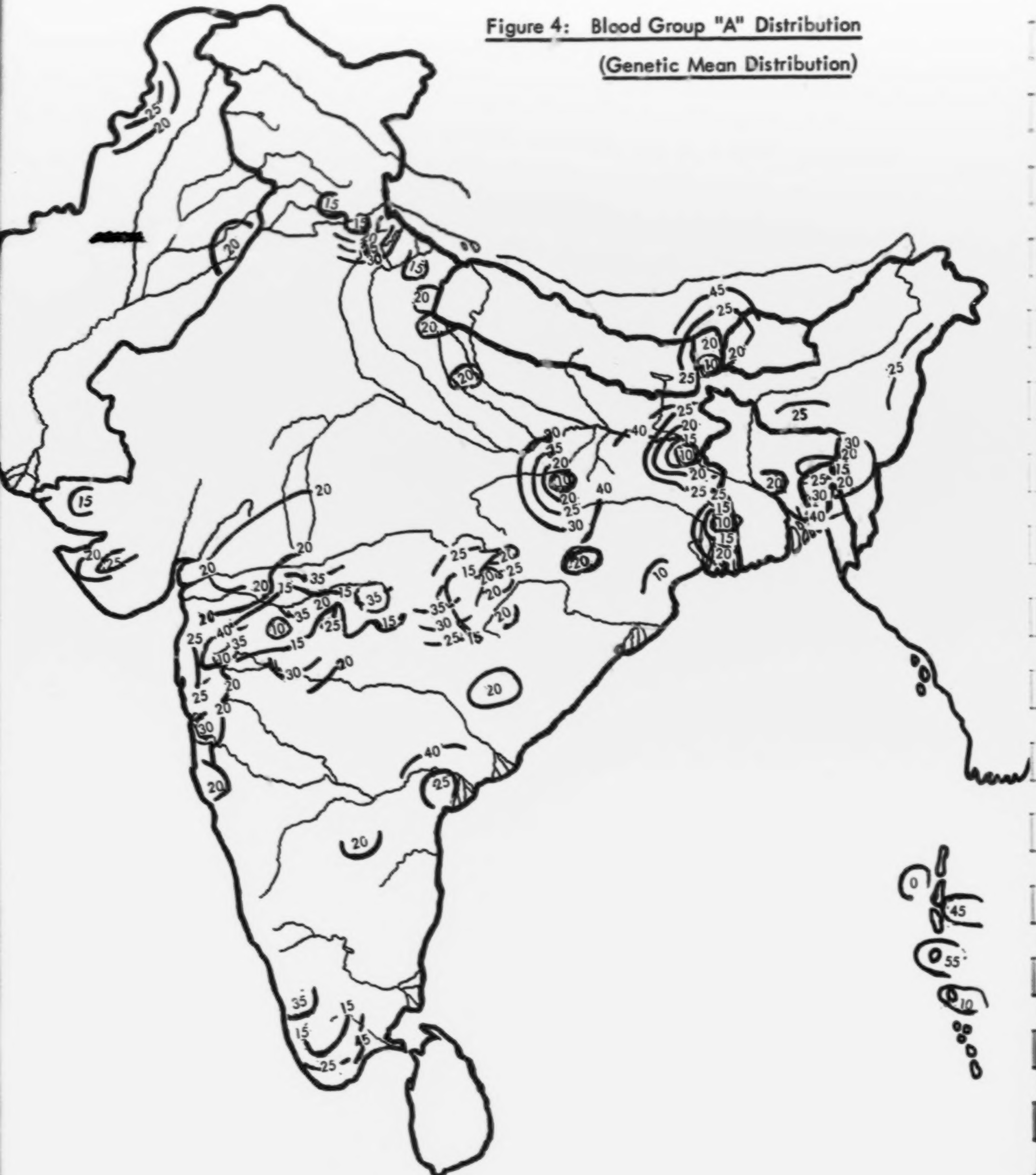
[11] E.J. Clegg, E. Ikin, and A.E. Mourant, "The Blood Groups of the Baltis," *Vox Sanguinis*, 1964. Compare with A.E. Mourant, A.C. Kopec, and K. Domaniewska Sobczak, *The ABO Blood Groups*, Oxford: Blackwell Scientific Publications, 1958.

[12] S.S. Sarkar, B. M. Das, and K. K. Agarwall, "The Anglo-Indians of Calcutta," *Man in India*, III, 2 (1953), pp. 93-103.

[13] A. E. Mourant, "Notes on Blood Groups in India," in T. N. Madan and D. K. Sarana (eds.), *Indian Anthropology*, New York: Asia Publishing House, 1962, pp. 185-192.

Figure 4: Blood Group "A" Distribution

(Genetic Mean Distribution)



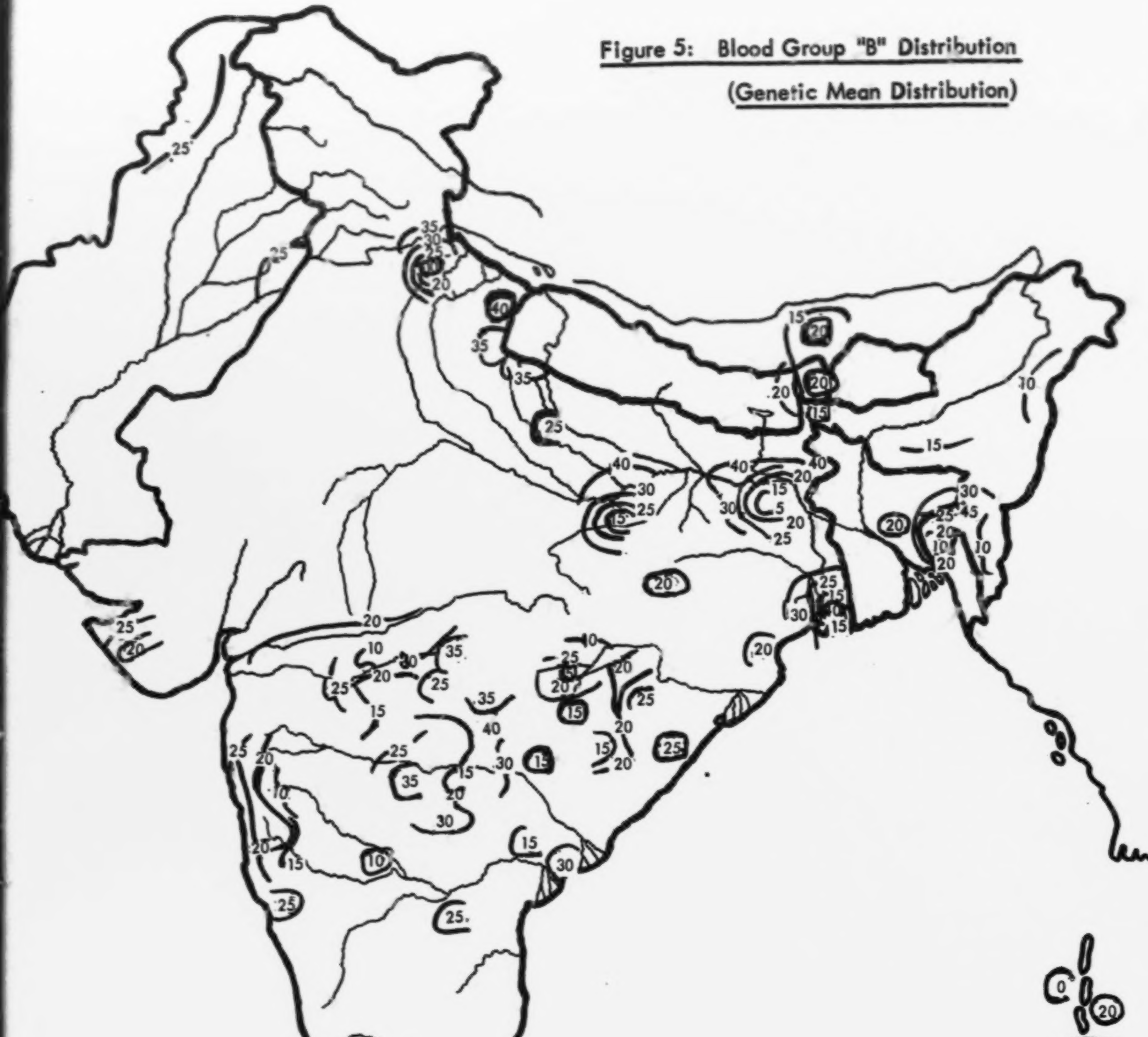

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Figure 5: Blood Group "B" Distribution

(Genetic Mean Distribution)

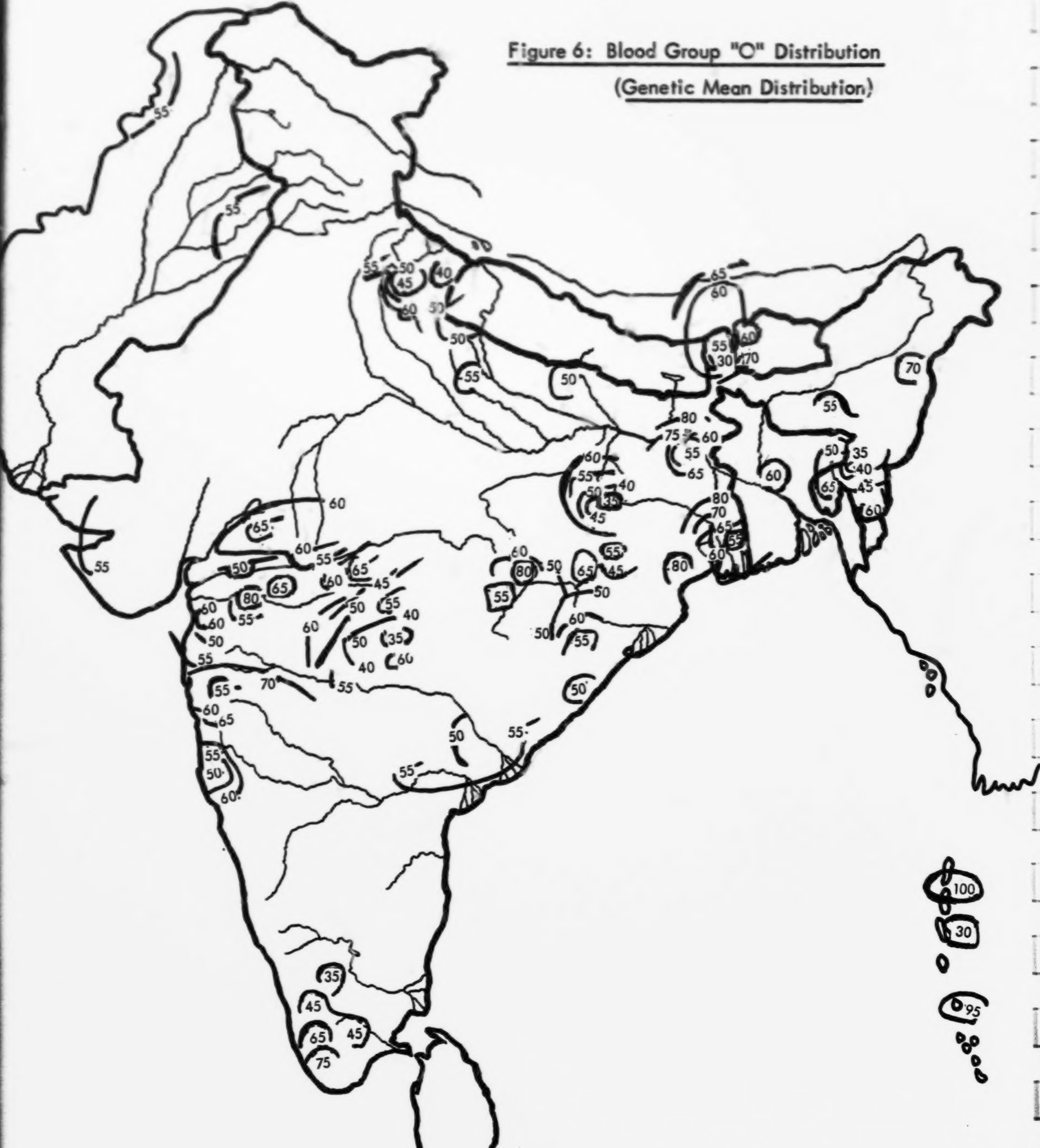

Figure 6: Blood Group "O" Distribution
(Genetic Mean Distribution)

about all that can be said concerning the present ABO situation in India. As already indicated, the data on other blood factors are even more limited.

Examination of the MNS data reveals that India, like Asia generally, has a higher M than is found in Europe. However, the MS tends to be the highest Indian combination, as in Europe, rather than the Ms combination found for eastern Asia.[14] The tribal populations of India also generally show a high M frequency, but the range of variation is greater among them than among the settled populations. Some tribals have quite a low M. The Veddahs of Ceylon have an Ns of 46%, similar to that of the Australian aborigines. Aside from them, only the Irula of Kerala, who are considered related to the Veddahs (26%), the Sinhalese (33%), and the Ceylonese Tamils (22%) show high Ns. The possibility of admixture or of selection, or of both factors, seems quite high.[15]

The scant data on the P groups appear to show "lower frequencies for P_1 gene in the Indian region than in Europe, although higher than in Eastern Asia."[16] The P factor data are further complicated by the fact that false negatives may result when the tested specimens are not quite fresh. Mourant[17] strongly urges that

> in view of the paucity of data... further data are to be desired from as many populations as possible and carefully tested with potent sera on fresh specimens.[18]

Among the Rh groups, the settled Indian populations that have been tested show a:

> closer resemblance to those of the Mediterranean region of Europe and North Africa, with higher frequencies of CDe (R_1) and lower frequencies of cde (r) than are found in northern and central Europe.[19]

Both upper caste Bengalis and Sikhs from the Punjab[20] seemed to have equivalent cde (r or, more popularly Rh-negative) frequencies. Many of the tribal groups showed Rh frequencies similar to those of caste Hindus. However, especially in the South, some tribes showed CDE (R) present and r absent, thus resembling more closely the people of Southeast Asia and the Australian aborigines than their immediate neighbors.

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[14] A. E. Mourant, "Notes on Blood Groups in India," in T. N. Madan and D. K. Sarana (eds.), Indian Anthropology, New York: Asia Publishing House, 1962, pp. 185-192.

[15] R. L. Kirk, L. Y. C. Lai, G. H. Vos, and L. P. Vidyarthi, "A Genetical Study of the Oraons of the Chota Nagpur Plateau (Bihar, India)," American Journal of Physical Anthropology, n.s., XX, 3 and 4 (1962).

[16] Mary F. Mathur, op. cit., p. 4.

[17] A. E. Mourant, op. cit.

[18] Mary F. Mathur, op. cit., p. 4.

[19] Ibid., p. 4.

[20] D. K. Sen, "The Racial Composition of Bengalis," in T. N. Madan and D. K. Sarana, op. cit., pp. 193-220.

A genetic characteristic that is not strictly serological but is related to blood-groups is known as the Secretor factor (Se=secretor, se=non-secretor). Individuals who possess the Se factor 'secrete' into their saliva and lymph systems sufficient quantities of their blood-group antigens (i.e., A, B or AB) for testing (among O blood-group individuals it is more difficult to detect whether they are non-secretors or truly O and therefore lacking in the other antigens). Since Secretor factor samples can be obtained without drawing blood, one often finds this factor more extensively covered than many others, and India is no exception. In most cases, Se among the settled peoples of India achieves a frequency of between 50 and 60 percent, similar to that of most of the European populations who have been more thoroughly studied.[21] Among the Chenchu of Hyderabad and the Onges on Little Andaman[22] Se exceeds 60%. Unfortunately, the related serological factor, i.e., the Lewis (Le^a - and Le^a +) that possibly determines by its presence or absence in the blood cell whether or not an individual will be a secretor has only been applied to two of the tribal groups, the Chenchu (9.2% Le^a +) and the Veddah (28.8% Le^a +).

Similar scant and inconclusive evidence is all that is available for Kell (K) group and Lutheran (Lu^a). Sera for Kidd and Duffy factors are so rare and infrequently available that little has been done with them in India.

Another genetic, but non-serological, factor that has been quite widely studied for India has been the frequency of P.T.C. (phenythiocarbamide) Tasters (T). In India the frequency generally approximates 70%, about on a par with that found in Europe, and much lower than frequencies reported for Eastern Asia and among American Indians. An interesting sidelight to this factor is that there seems to be some significant correlation between (t) non-tasting, and thyroid imbalance. Suspicion has been raised that the chemical composition of some of the known goitrogenic substances, such as cabbage and turnips, is very similar to phenylthiocarbamide and that the presence of T would inhibit the quantity of such foods that would be eaten.

Finally, the abnormal hemoglobins, including the factor involved in 'sickle-cell,' have been quite well documented for India. Lehmann[23] and Büchi[24] located it first in the Nilgiri Hill tribes. Sukumaran et al.[25] found the trait present in some Western Indian tribes. Solanki et al.[26] and Negi[27] have found high frequencies of this trait among the Mahars, a so-called 'scheduled caste' of Maharashtra.

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[21] A. E. Mourant, op. cit., pp. 185-192.

[22] E. C. Büchi, "Über die Frequenz einiger Erbmerkmale bei den Onge von Little Andaman," Bulletin Schweiz. Ges. Anthrop., XXXIII: 20-21, 1956-1957.

Much of the foregoing data have been utilized by various authors to confirm or challenge the standard interpretations of the successive population movements into the Indian subcontinent. Examined from that standpoint, the data tend to substantiate the earlier anthropometric and observational conclusions discussed elsewhere in this chapter. However, perhaps even more significantly the data suggest how one or many populations have adapted genetically to the Indian environments in which they have found themselves.

II. 'Race' and Indian Civilization

A. 'Race' and Caste

In turning to Serology for answers to the problems of 'race' in India we have, paradoxically, moved from the tradition of large-scale, all-India biological studies to much more detailed and limited investigations. In a curious way, we have begun to deal with types of distinctions implied by Vedic Aryan classifications of populations, both between 'Aryans' and non-Aryans and among 'Aryans' themselves. From an 'objective' standpoint, the conclusions reached by Dr. B. S. Guha concerning the probable closeness of such groups as Gour Saraswat brāhmaṇs of Goa and brāhmaṇs of Bengal, or the sharing of certain blood-type frequencies between divergent 'castes' and 'tribes' in widely separated areas can only be evaluated on the basis of detailed knowledge of genetic history. Even if such knowledge were available, the 'subjective' distinctions drawn between populations are not eliminated from consideration. Social barriers to breeding may well have been crossed in the past; proof of such crossing does not give higher status to a group whose status is primarily determined by subjective evaluation of food habits, religious practices, legendary origins, political suppression, etc.

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[23] H. Lehmann, "Sickle-cell Trait in Southern India," British Medical Journal, I, 1952, p. 404.

[24] E. C. Büchi, "A Genetic Survey Among the Malapantaram, a Hill Tribe of Travancore," Anthropologist, II, 1 (1955), pp. 1-8.

[25] Sukumaran, P. K., L. D. Sanghui, and G. N. Vyas, "Sickle Cells in Some Tribes of Western India," Current Science, XXV (1956), pp. 290-291.

[26] B. R. Solanki, R. N. Shukla, and J. J. Sood, "Study of Blood Groups of Mahars and Marathas Showing Presence of Sickle-Cell Trait at Nagpur," Indian Journal of Medical Research, XLVIII (1960), pp. 146-148.

[27] R. S. Negi, "Preliminary Survey for the Presence of Sickle Trait in the Mahars of Indore," unpublished manuscript, 1957.

In effect, we have abundant evidence that populations in India were never the tight little breeding compartments ideally pictured in traditional literature. Periodic attempts to reclassify jātis (for example, Manu's famous list of jātis derived from mixing of the four varṇas in various ways) attest to the fact that the 'code-makers' of ancient India were alert to the breakdown of breeding boundaries between groups. Subjectively, however, the maintainance of order was important, and the process of classification was essential to the maintainance of breeding lines. 'Race' (meaning the family line of descent--a remarkably modern concept) thus became a matter of the proper pattern of behavior in selection of marriage partner, exhibition of intellectual and behavioral characteristics, and even, to some extent, habitation of a particular locality. A 'popular genetics', i.e., the way in which it is believed that physical and behavioral characteristics are transmitted, became linked with a system of categorizing whole populations as well as individuals. As an example, we cite from the Laws of Manu:

> Evil-minded men suffer disfigurement--some from evil deeds committed during the present life and others from those committed in former lives.
>
> The stealer of gold has disfigured nails; the drinker of wine, black teeth; the slayer of a brāhmaṇ, consumption; and the violator of his Preceptor's bed, a disfigured skin; the informer, a foul-smelling nose; the false caluminator, a foul-smelling mouth; the stealer of grains, a deficiency of limbs; and the adulterator, an excess of limbs; the stealer of food, dyspepsia; the stealer of words, dumbness; the stealer of clothes, leucoderma; and the stealer of horse, lameness. It is thus that idiots, the dumb, the blind, the deaf and deformed men, despised by righteous men, are born, on account of particular acts.
>
> Because persons with sins unexpiated are born with disgraceful marks, therefore expiatory rites shall always be performed, for the purpose of purification.[28]

The Sage Manu recognized that 'race' is primarily a matter of breeding--on the assumption that certain behavioral traits are characteristic of a population category and its subdivisions. Such subdivisions are the 'jātis' within a 'caste-cluster' or varṇa. Miscegenation between 'high' and 'low' caste members is recognized. The primary source of characteristics is explicitly derived from the actual (biological)

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28. Manu Dharma Śāstra, XI, 48-53.

father, although the mother is recognized as contributing to the 'nature' of the offspring. Manu is explicit about the importance of the father. However, should miscegenation take place, if the offspring continues to 'marry up' (e.g., the offspring of a brāhmaṇ father and a śūdra woman), over a series of generations 'brāhmaṇness' becomes strengthened, and ultimately the line, though tainted, may recapture the brāhmaṇical characteristics.

Dr. Irawati Karve has pointed out[29] that we are not dealing with 'racial purity' here, but with a concept of behavioral categories to which birth was one mode of entry. Only in this sense has 'race consciousness', in the accepted Western sense of the term, been a critical element in the formation of castes or subcastes. A varṇa was never a 'breeding population' in either the modern genetic sense nor in the subjective sense in the past. Brāhmaṇs south and north, east and west display variations of physical type that indicate their origins from diverse breeding populations. The same holds true in any varṇa, even though the castes claiming highest ranking within a varṇa frequently tend to approximate more closely the 'Caucasoid' model, with lighter skins, taller statures, narrower noses, and occasional blue and grey-blue eye color. Yet conversely, occasional 'low' jātis within other varṇas approximate more closely the Caucasoid model than do the lowest brāhmaṇ jātis of a different region. It is here that we begin to discern the difficulties of subjective comparisons between types. There have been many reports of extensive movements of populations in Indian history. Legendary origins of southern groups from northern areas (and vice-versa) have often been discounted and not seriously investigated. The heterogeneous nature of caste-clusters in any region has been demonstrated convincingly (particularly by Dr. Karve, cited above) but discussions of 'castes' or 'subcastes' in much current literature seem to assume that castes were formed primarily by fission--implying some ideal time in the past when the group was 'one'. Thus brāhmaṇs, for example, have been treated as though they formed a meaningful category both culturally and physically throughout India. In fact, it seems increasingly evident that each caste in each region must be examined as though it were formed from a confluence of particular groups--'tribes'--which themselves comprised numerous 'breeding lines' deriving from different areas at different times. Such a confluence over time widens or narrows the range of potential breeding partners, depending upon the admission of members of the incoming group to full privileges with members of the 'established' group.

In this whole process, marriage, social, and religious behavior are intertwined, and considerations of 'race' have lost out to considerations of status, wealth or power, place of residence, and access to particular religious traditions. Though scholars may ultimately be able to generalize objectively on the meaning of physical variation in India genetically and historically, in Indian culture the distinction of

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[29] Irawati Karve, Hindu Society--An Interpretation, Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1961, ch. 2.

'race' has other than physical-genetic importance. Fundamentally, the stress on breeding (in the strictly physical sense) is only one aspect of the characteristic cultural stress on categorization and perpetuation of distinction between individuals and groups within the scope of Indian civilization. Thus distinctions of 'race' form only one part of a total pattern that emphasizes linguistic, religious, economic-occupational, regional and local differences among groups, and that allows each group to maintain its peculiarities if it chooses. Indeed, this pattern of categorization has sometimes forced groups together on the basis of category, rather than mutual shared interest, assumed shared behavior or physical resemblance.

B. India's Populations: Some Gross Categorical Distinctions

In accordance with the foregoing discussion, we would not be conceptually correct to talk simply of 'India's Population' in gross categories such as 'race', religion, or language, for example. Yet these categories are useful as an entry into the understanding of Indian civilization and are more easily grasped than categories such as the number of members of specific caste or subcaste, sectarian or dialectical groups. On the gross level, for example, we know that the total population of India is increasing rapidly. In 1961, population density averaged 347 persons to the square mile; yet this figure is less significant than figures on distribution by area. We have regular decennial census information from 1871, when the total population was estimated at 214 million, to 1961, when the total population was estimated at 439 million (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Variation in India's Population Since 1901[30]

Census Year	Population (in millions)	Average annual rate of increase
1901	236	---
1911	252	0.6
1921	251	---
1931	279	1.1
1941	318	1.4
1951	361	1.3
1961	439	2.2

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30. From Census Commissioner, Government of India, Census of India 1961-Final Population Totals, Paper No. 1 of 1962, Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1962, pp. 8, 9.

Figure 8: Population of India, 1961 Census by States[31]

	Population	Percentage increase 1951-61	Population per square mile 1961	Percent urban		Females per 1,000 males 1961
				1961	1951	
INDIA	439,072,893	21.5	347	18.0	17.4	941
States:						
Andhra Pradesh	35,983,447	15.7	339	17.4	17.4	981
Assam	11,872,772	34.5	252	7.7	4.7	876
Bihar	46,455,610	19.2	691	8.4	6.8	994
Gujarat	20,633,350	26.9	286	25.8	27.2	940
Jammu and Kashmir	3,560,976	9.4	41	16.7	n.a.	878
Kerala	16,903,715	24.8	1,127	15.1	13.5	1,022
Madhya Pradesh	32,372,408	24.2	189	14.3	12.0	953
Madras	33,686,953	11.9	669	26.7	24.4	992
Maharashtra	39,553,718	23.6	333	28.2	28.8	936
Mysore	23,586,772	21.6	318	22.3	23.0	959
Orissa	17,548,846	19.8	292	6.3	4.1	1,001
Punjab	20,306,812	25.9	430	20.1	19.0	864
Rajasthan	20,155,602	26.2	163	16.3	18.5	908
Uttar Pradesh	73,746,401	16.7	649	12.9	13.6	909
West Bengal	34,926,279	32.8	1,032	24.5	23.9	878
Union Territories and Other Areas:						
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	63,548	105.2	20	22.2	25.9	617
Delhi	2,658,612	52.4	4,640	88.8	82.4	785
Himachal Pradesh	1,351,144	21.8	124	4.7	4.1	923
Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands	24,108	14.6	2,192	0	0	1,020
Manipur	780,037	35.0	90	8.7	0.5	1,015
Tripura	1,142,005	78.7	283	9.0	6.7	932
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	57,963	39.6	307	0	0	963
Goa, Daman and Diu	626,978	−1.7	440	n.a.	n.a.	1,070
North-East Frontier Agency	336,558	n.a.	11	0	0	894
Nagaland	369,200	14.1	58	5.2	1.9	933
Pondicherry	369,079	16.3	1,995	24.1	n.a.	1,013

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[31] Ibid., pp. 320, 321.

Figure 9: Metropolitan Areas of India and their Populations[32]

Metropolitan area	Population (in thousands)
Greater Calcutta	5,550
Greater Bombay	4,152
Delhi	2,359
Greater Madras	1,729
Hyderabad (including Secunderabad)	1,251
Bangalore	1,207
Ahmadabad	1,206
Kanpur	971
Poona	737
Nagpur	690
Lucknow	656
Agra	509

Figure 10: Distribution of Population of India, According to Age and Sex, 1951[33]

Age group	Percentage of total population[2]	Total (in thousands)		Females per 1,000 males
		Male	Female	
Below 1 year	3.3	5,821	5,668	974
1- 4 years	10.2	17,939	17,908	998
5-14 years	24.8	44,703	41,989	939
15-24 years	17.4	30,672	30,052	979
25-34 years	15.6	27,875	26,633	955
35-44 years	11.9	22,032	19,529	887
45-54 years	8.5	15,719	13,898	884
55-64 years	5.1	9,065	8,624	951
65-74 years	2.2	3,867	3,976	1,028
75 and over	1.0	1,630	1,756	1,077
Age not stated	0.1	111	117	1,054
Total		179,434	170,150	948

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[32] Ibid., pp. 254 ff.

[33] From Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, India - 1962, Delhi: Publications Division, Government of India, 1962, p. 20.

From these figures certain characteristics of the total population can be discerned: the Indian population is large (439 million in 1961 compared to the U.S. population of 179 million in 1960); it is rapidly growing (2.2% per year as contrasted with the U.S. rate of 1.9% per year); it is young (40% being 14 years or younger as against the U.S. figure of 32% of age 15 or younger); it has an excess of males over females (94 females per 100 males); it is dense in general and extremely dense in particular regions (374 per sq. mile contrasted with U.S. 50 per sq. mile) --but also contrast Kerala (1, 127 per sq. mile) and West Bengal (1, 032 per sq. mile) with Rajasthan desert districts (with 9 persons per sq. mile). Finally, India is overwhelmingly rural (82% in communities under 5000 compared with 30% of the U.S. population in communities under 2500).

The gross size of the all-India population is only an indication of certain processes that are difficult to interpret unless they are placed in their social context. A large population in itself is not detrimental if its composition, rate of growth, percentage gainfully employed, distribution, migration and productivity (particularly of food) are reasonably in balance—if, in effect, the social and economic resources of an area are sufficient to offset the population increases. Gross figures and percentages, moreover, may be misleading. For example, the average annual rate of increase of India's population between 1921 and 1951 was only between 1.3 and 1.4 percent; between 1951 and 1961 it had risen to a rate of about 2%. The annual rate of increase in many other parts of the world is higher, and the world average of 1.8% is only a bit lower than India's rate. As has so often been noted, the critical element is the base from which such an increase begins; in absolute terms, such a rate of increase has added about 200 million to India's total population in 40 years (between 1921 and 1961). The annual increase, taking the 2% annual rate of growth, adds over 8 million persons annually in India!

Coupled with the annual increase of large absolute numbers is the dramatic decline of the death rate in the 40 year period noted above. While infant mortality remains one of the highest in the world (125 deaths per 1000 live births in 1961), the expected life span of both sexes has increased, once the crucial first years of life have passed. Controversy over the trend of the birth rate obscures the validity of contentions that there has been a decline since 1901, with some authorities arguing for a rise, at least since 1951. Urbanization, expected to reduce the birth rate at least among the large city populations (an assumption based on the Western experience), has not had the same effect in India.

In sum, the characteristics of the gross population suggest that a continuous increase of large absolute numbers is to be expected. No 'natural' restraints seem to be operative to halt the trend seriously. Migration out of India has not been significant, even though many parts of the world received over 30 million Indian emigres between 1834 and 1934. Such movement was offset by the return to India of 24 million during the same period. Partition, though creating immense problems due to the movement of millions between Pakistan and India, was essentially a balanced exchange of populations. Internal migration has largely been within state boundaries, from the rural areas to cities, or to other agricultural regions in the state. Thus the density of populations in regions already high seems unlikely to decrease, even if the 'urbanization syndrome' (reduction of birth rate in urban areas) were to become operative.

While urbanization has not significantly affected the gross growth of population, it has been responsible for some internal population shifts. In proportion to the rural population, however, the growth of cities, particularly industrial cities, has not shown a major increase since the peaks of 1941 to 1951, when wartime industrialization drew an estimated 9 million persons to the cities. From 1951 to 1961 the proportion of urban dwellers to the total population increased by less than 1 percent, although in absolute terms (i.e., the increase of urban population in itself) a growth of 26 percent during the decade was noted. Interpretation of figures on movement of rural populations to cities, and the relationship of urban populations to the rural are complicated. Studies of small segments of urban populations show that the flow between city and village in some regions is not one-way; migrants to cities consider themselves to be itinerants, even though they may reside in a city 20 years. In times of unemployment, city dwellers may return to their villages; in times of near-famine in the countryside, there may be a temporary influx into the cities. While not, perhaps, of relevance to gross assessments of population, such factors may distort the meaning of the categories 'urban' and 'rural.'

C. Some Social Implications of Numbers

The preceding figures help one understand India's 'modernization' and some of her current political and economic difficulties. They tell one little, however, of the importance of numbers for regional social relations between high- and low-status groups, between those in pure or impure occupations, increasing or declining social, political or economic positions, etc. It is often said that traditional India lives in its villages; the concentration of more than 80% of the population in villages suggests that some attention be given to the implications of population data for understanding 'tradition' and its perpetuation or modification. In this respect, the elimination of 'caste' statistics from Census enumeration in India (though praiseworthy in its intent to erase socially undesirable categories) has hampered understanding.

Until recently, Western social science literature emphasized the pre-eminent position of the brāhmaṇ in the all-India social and ritual hierarchy. M. N. Srinivas made a major conceptual 'breakthrough' when he proposed (as a result of intensive anthropological research) that real economic and social dominance, as opposed to traditional or ideal dominance, was related to the size of a caste's population in a village or region. Since Srinivas' original suggestion, studies in different areas have borne out his contention. As a case in point, the relative scarcity of brāhmaṇs in South India (Madras, Andhra, Mysore, Kerala) might have contributed to the strength of 'anti-brāhmaṇ' movements in those areas. The north Indian plains, with their large proportion of brāhmaṇs, have seen little anti-brāhmaṇ agitation.

Of the total Indian population, 40% is concentrated in the Ganges basin states of Punjab, Hariana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and West Bengal. Within these states, and in a few adjoining areas of Madhya Pradesh, are found the highest concentration of brāhmaṇs, taken as a percentage of the total populations in these states (10 to 20% concentration in selected areas).[34] In contrast, the greatest concentration of brāhmaṇs in any South Indian state is 3%, the average for all South India being only 1%. Again, among those brāhmaṇs concentrated in the North Indian plain, almost half the total 15.2 million recorded in 1931 lived in Uttar Pradesh and Northern Bihar. In the Plains area of Uttar Pradesh alone, brāhmaṇs formed 8.7% of the population, second only to the 'untouchable' camārs in number.

It is a long and speculative leap from sheer numbers and concentrations to modern problems. It is at least suggestive to note that this concentration of brāhmaṇs occurs in an area in which some of the holiest sites of Hinduism are located, industrial development is slow, and a 'Hindu' and traditionally-oriented political party (the Jan Sangh) has recently registered political successes. Yet stressing numbers alone is misleading; for the brāhmaṇ concentration is numerically dominant only for the region as a whole. As Schwartzberg[35] points out, they are the leading group numerically in only half a dozen districts in the plain. Because of their ritual status and the public's need for their services, because many of them are landlords, and because they possess a regional network, a few brāhmaṇs in a village (linked with outside brāhmaṇs who are economically and socially prominent) can command influence in excess of their own sheer numbers.

Given such data, and projecting into the South Indian past, the importance of a social and religious system that provided for brāhmaṇ dominance without numbers becomes evident. The alliance of brāhmaṇs with rulers in all areas, their acquisition of economic power, and their emphasis on the ritual, political and occupational 'lowness' of śūdras (traditional servants of the upper castes, and numerically dominant throughout India) also takes on new significance. Yet, despite the precautions taken by South Indian brāhmaṇs, they have been challenged again and again by widespread non-brāhmaṇical socio-religious systems (e.g., the bhakti movements, the Liṅgāyats, the Justice for Non-Brāhmaṇs party, and the Drāvida Munnetra Kaḻagam).

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[34] See Joseph E. Schwartzberg, "Distribution of Selected Castes in the North Indian Plain," Geographical Review, LV, 4 (1965), pp. 477-495.

[35] Ibid.

Numbers alone do not make for dominance; but in the context of a particular local or regional social-economic-ritual and political system they may be an important resource for dominance. Schwartzberg notes that the most numerous caste in the North Indian plain, with greatest concentration in Uttar Pradesh, are the 'untouchable' camārs. In villages, no matter what caste was the largest, the camārs were the second most numerous group. Yet the camārs were never dominant in any village until the universal extension of the ballot. Today, the community stands in a position to attain real dominance if its potential political power can be combined with economic strength. Thus knowing about the numbers of a caste in a particular area becomes important only when it is supplemented by data on income, employment opportunity, and political structure.

The position of the camārs may be contrasted with that of the mahārs of Maharashtra. Though the largest single caste in Maharashtra (10% of the total population), the mahārs were so distributed that most larger villages had five or ten mahār families, with smaller villages showing only one or two families. However, leadership, organization, participation in the military, postal and railways occupations, and concentration in certain districts and cities of Maharashtra enabled the mahārs to exert influence on the pre-Independence government of Bombay State, and in post-Independence Nagpur and Bombay at a level not consonant with their traditional status as 'untouchables.'

The implications of the foregoing are clear. If numbers are to mean anything below the gross level of analysis, or are to be of use in analysis of trends in Indian social structure, they must be placed in a more 'traditional' context than is usually done. It is important to know the age and sex structure of the all-India population; but it is more significant for those concerned with understanding Indian culture to know the age and sex structure of particular castes in particular locales and in the context of particular social and economic conditions. In effect, census figures on the national level tell us in a gross way only a small part of what it is necessary to know about the Indian population. As in ancient India, the categories and the content of the categories become important to the ordering of events.

D. Extra-Biological Categorization of Indian Peoples

We have suggested that 'race' is only one way to categorize Indian peoples. Since earliest times, it has been combined with linguistic, social and religious characteristics as well as with appearance, food habits, traditions, locality, marriage practices, dress, and occupations (with many minute subdivisions). Western scholars have almost always drawn their major distinctions according to overarching categories of language and race such as Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Austro-Asiatic, with enumeration of the large subdivisions within these blocs (see Figure 1).

Recently, more attention has been directed toward what we earlier termed the

'Indian pattern' of categorizing, i.e., the consideration of social implications of finer subdivisions. John Gumperz[36] has pointed to the importance of the levels of communication within major linguistic groupings such as regional languages, regional or subregional dialects, local varieties, standard speech forms of educated and urban populations vs. the dialects of the uneducated and rural, literary forms of language, subregional dialect literatures, trade languages, and caste dialects. Virtually all forms have relevance for the involvement in, and distinctions between, different networks of relationships linking groups within different cultural and political subdivisions. Conversely, the limits of linguistic areas often have relevance for marriage networks, subcaste distinctions, access to particular occupations, and self-identification.

We see some of these concepts reflected in traditional brāhmaṇical literature when the Sage Manu says:

> All those races of the world which are outside the pale of the people 'born of the mouth, the arms, the thighs and the feet' /i.e., the four Aryan castes/--speaking the 'barbaric' or the 'refined' language--are called 'Dasyu.'

The gloss on this verse makes even more explicit the importance of language--and terminology--in fixing the distinction between peoples:

> That language is called 'mlechchha', 'barbaric' which consists of words that either have no meaning (in Sanskrit or approved dialects) or have a wrong meaning, or are wrong in form. To this class belong the languages of such low-born tribes as the Shabara, the Kirata and so forth.
>
> 'Refined language' is the language of the inhabitants of Aryavarta.
>
> These persons, being other than those named as the 'four castes' are called 'Dasyu'.
>
> The meaning is that neither habitation nor barbaric speech is a ground for regarding a caste as 'mixed'; it is the fact of people being known by the particular names that makes them to be so regarded. It is thus that they come to be called 'Dasyu.'[37]

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[36] In his "Speech Variation and the Study of Indian Civilization," American Anthropologist, LXII, 5, Part 1, (October, 1961), pp. 976-988.

[37] cited from: Manu-Smriti with the Manu Bhasya of Medhatithi, transl. by Mahapadhyaya Ganganatha Jha, Calcutta: 1926 Vol. 5, Discourses IX to XII, pp. 284-285.

Language, and the use of language, then, becomes a key factor in the identification of groups by those dominant in an area, region, or system. It has been a powerful factor in modern India in respect to political matters. Distinctions between 'Northerners' and 'Southerners' have been drawn on linguistic grounds; within these large blocs, regional distinctions are further cause for dispute. Identification with a language or its regional/sub-regional variant has proved a motivating force in the alignment or separation of people sharing many other cultural characteristics in common. Yet as Gumperz points out, intensive study of the more minute subdivisions has still to be undertaken.

We are once more brought forcefully to the difference in approaches to understanding of Indian civilization. Only by the detailed analysis of linguistic distinctions between and within castes, subcastes, localities, areas and regions; only by historical data on the process of group formation and identification (and the changes of identification) can we finally begin to grasp the meaning of 'complexity' in Indian society. In the context of Manu, the stress placed on change of name by low-caste and untouchable peoples is easily grasped: "by their name shall ye know them." As with 'race', the student of India is confronted with numerous ways of categorizing language. Furthermore, the interpretation of such categories varies with the level of analysis. At the most intimate level, what a group calls itself and is called by others has implications for whether or not that group is included in the economic opportunities, services and religious privileges of a particular traditional set of relationships.

Change or acquisition of group name in the past may be related to both political and religious events. Rulers could raise and lower groups within their jurisdiction. Sometimes political titles of office, acquired under a given ruler, became the name of a caste group. Clan and lineage names of rulers and high-caste groups were often appropriated by lower castes in an attempt to raise their own status or perhaps as part of an attempt to claim equality with the higher group. Within Hinduism, distinctions by sect, by occupation, by locale, or by peculiarity are legion. The assumption that one can tell a man's caste by his name, an assumption often repeated in the earlier literature on India, must be qualified by: "only if one has an intimate knowledge of that man's locale, dialect, habits, access to services, and the degree to which other known castes acknowledge his purity."

In this naming process, and the (successful) claiming of names by groups changing their status, the brāhmaṇical tradition has shaped the self-image of the different groups. Either in an attempt to acquire status and access to privileges within the 'brāhmaṇical system,' or in revolt against it, one of the first acts of a mobile group has been the selection of a name indicating the 'new' self-image. In Madras, for example, the 1920's saw the upsurge of an anti-brāhmaṇ, anti-northern, and 'anti-Aryan' movement. Untouchable castes in Madras state began to call themselves 'Adi-Dravida,' i.e., original Dravidians. They were supported in this identification by other non-brāhmaṇ (but 'clean') castes seeking alliance in their struggle to create a 'Dravidistan' and to incorporate all Tamil speakers in 'Tamilnad'. The 'new' Adi-Dravidas began to strike at social restrictions. They refused to adhere to bans against certain types of display in marriage processions. They attempted to enter temples beyond the barrier prescribed for untouchables. And they removed garments offensive (by traditional prohibition) to upper castes. Fights, house burnings, legal proceedings and riots followed.

A new self image, however, is not established merely by change of name. Changes in 'life-style' were necessary as well. For those opposing brāhmaṇism or the 'brāhmaṇical system', such changes might involve a reevaluation of the validity of sacred texts (e.g., denial of the authority of the Vedas), establishment of an honorable history and geneology (e.g., traditions of former high political or military ancestry), or adherence to a new, non-brāhmaṇ dominated religious sect. One of the most dramatic re-identifications of recent times has been that of the mahārs, who in 1956 renounced Hinduism, their untouchability, and aspirations (if any) within the 'brāhmaṇical system' to become Buddhists.

For more than three million mahārs in Maharashtra, the change of identification was the culmination of a long movement toward escape from their status within the caste system. Behavioral changes in marriage practices, traditional occupation, dress, and religious behavior accompanied the adoption of their new name. But the change has not yet been accepted by all other Maharashtrians, or even by all mahārs themselves. Re-identification is complicated. For example, their use of the new name is tempered by their awareness that they may have lost privileges of employment and education that are reserved for 'mahārs', not 'Buddhists', in Maharashtra. According to the new mahār identification, they were originally Buddhists who were degraded in ages past. In effect, they have regained what was taken away from them and are, if anything, 'old Buddhists.' But some Hindus refer to them contemptuously (or so the mahārs interpret it) as 'New Buddhists.' Certain mahārs have compromised, returning themselves in questionnaires as 'mahār by caste, Buddhist by subcaste and/or religion.' Mahār children have started to be named Gautama, Asoka, Ananda, Maya, all with Buddhist referents. Hindu has been replaced by Buddhist terminology in reference to religious activities; one speaks of worship as 'vandana', not 'prarthana'; one studies Pali, not Sanskrit. Finally, as part of the creation of a new self-image, there is a tendency for mahārs to bring up their children without telling them of their 'original' caste background. Harold Isaacs cites a typical case:

> I will tell my daughter she is a Buddhist. Why should I tell her about our community? I won't have to. It will just be forgotten. When my daughter grows up we will just be Buddhists.[38]

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[38] Harold Isaacs, India's Ex-Untouchables, New York: John Day, 1964, p. 153.

This is, however, an urban father speaking. In the villages, where the former mahār, now Buddhist, population is sparse, no amount of concealment at home will alter the appellations used by the caste Hindus. To use the new term would be to acknowledge the change of status. Caste name, in the last analysis, is a statement of social position, expected behavior, allowed characteristics, and order in matters social or religious. Again, as Isaacs expresses it:

> The choice of names has become part of the process of shedding the old identity and acquiring a new one. Sometimes this is quite literally a way of blotting out one's identity in order to 'pass' as a member of some higher caste. But while for some the choosing of new names is a way of trying to erase the past, for a few it is a way of making a demand on the future.[39]

E. 'People' vs. 'Peoples'

The peoples of India have been identified in many ways. By Europeans, early influenced by philological and historical studies, traditional Indian distinctions of caste and subcaste, religion, region, language, and tradition of origin were accepted, examined, analyzed. With the growth of anthropological interest, attempts were made to determine scientifically the 'original' populations that had blended to form the Indian physical type; in these studies contamination from linguistic distinctions (e.g., Aryan and Dravidian) or established 'racial' terminology (e.g., 'Mediterranean,' 'Alpine,' 'Dinaric') both obscured and reinforced the problem of separation of types. Attempts at identification of existing populations by equation with Vedic and traditional Indian terms for castes and tribes fared little better; extensive studies of single 'castes' have destroyed, hopefully for all time, the assumption that a 'caste' ever was a single breeding population, or that castes have maintained their boundaries without breach through time. We have dwelt much on caste in discussing 'The Peoples of India,' however, because the phenomenon of caste illustrates a principle evident in Indian social structure from earliest times. It is the principle of 'distinction-making.' Following this principle, one cannot speak of the people of India, except in reference to the population contained within the borders of political India. For this is not one people, nor is it two, or three, or simply, 400+ million people. It is a multitude of groups, distinctive in language, habits, beliefs, dress, traditions and frequency of physical characteristics, with internal differentiation extending to the least populous groups. Culturally these peoples have participated in or been connected to differing regional and local systems, being dominated, influenced by, or rejecting the so-called 'brāhmaṇical system' of caste and belief. The prevalence of this pattern of 'distinction-making' is a source of bewilderment to the Western scholar and student of Indian civilization.

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[39] Ibid., p. 46.

Seeking for order, he tends to dismiss the fine distinctions between what a group calls itself in favor of what a group is called by its neighbors; what its local 'patois' may be, in favor of what language region it resides in; what its religious adherences may be locally and regionally in favor of the more ambiguous but more easily handled categories of 'Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Christianity.' He begins to feel confident that Dravidian, for example, is a linguistic and cultural designation for Southern caste Indians; then is disconcerted to find that there are Dravidian-speaking 'tribes' in North India, and that many Southern caste groups trace their origins from Northern invaders of the South.

It is finally borne in upon our scholar, however, that no amount of generalization on all-India statistics, broad categories, and 'objective' classification can begin to 'make sense' of the complexities of Indian life. Only a painstaking region by region, group by group study, coupled with extensive historical or folk-historical researches can begin to provide the kind of data needed for describing the Peoples of India. The search for uniformities in Indian civilization and cultures has not ended; but it has seriously obscured the understanding of the differences which Indian pundits and untouchables have recognized since the early centuries B.C.